HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Administration Split on Paying Ransom

Trial of 'Pueblo' Crew Likely in North Korea

By PAUL SCOTT

North Korea appears to be setting the stage to try crew members of the captured intelligence ship *Pueblo*. The release of the purported letter from the crew to President Johnson is being interpreted by U.S. intelligence authorities as part of a propaganda build-up leading to a mass trial.

During their secret Panmunjom meetings with U.S. officials, North Korean representatives have constantly hinted that legal action against the crew is imminent.

In addition to demanding that the U.S. admit that the Pueblo was operating in their territorial waters, the North Koreans are saying that before the crew will be released "certain payments for damage" will have to be made by the U.S. In non-Communist language, this means ransom.

Eastern European officials, whose governments have diplomatic missions in Pyongyang, have sent similar information through private channels to the State Department. They say the North Koreans are planning to try, fine and then release the crew if the U.S. admits the *Pueblo* intruded and pays the fines.

According to these Communist diplomats, the North Koreans plan to handle the *Pueblo* case similar to that of four American fliers captured in 1951 by Hungary when their plane wandered off course and was forced to land behind the Iron Curtain.

In that international incident, the Truman Administration paid ransom of more than $30,000 a head to get the four American fliers released after they spent several months as prisoners.

Whether the $100-million *Pueblo* will be returned is still not clear from the talks at Panmunjom It is located in a remote corner of North Korea's Wonsan harbor.

The ill-fated U.S.S. Pueblo is anchored in a remote area of Wonsan harbor in North Korea, while Administration officials are undecided as to the most effective means to free the crew.

President Johnson's advisers are sharply split on what he should do about the 800-word letter, which carried the purported signatures of most of the surviving crewmen.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, and Under Secretary of State George Ball, who are advising the President, are urging the issuance of a statement which in effect would be an apology to North Korea.

By taking this step, they believe that the crew would be released. If ransom is demanded, they also favor paying it. The letter to President Johnson contained the request that he "frankly admit" that the *Pueblo* intruded into North Korea's territorial waters.

Navy officials are bitterly opposed to any such statements on the grounds that there is no hard evidence that the ship ever intruded in North Korean waters.

To help the crew, the Navy has urged the President to permit seizure of several North Korean vessels to be used in the bargaining to free the *Pueblo*.

In private briefings to the Senate Armed Service Committee, U.S. intelligence authorities estimate that North Koreans will hold the 82 crewmen at least two months more, and possibly longer in order to extract as much information as possible.

From our own experience with Communist prisoners and defectors, these officials calculate that it takes up to six months of continual interrogation before the possibility of getting more information from a prisoner is exhausted.

The larger number of captives, including naval officers, scientists and technicians with highly specialized skills, indicate the extent of the interrogation task, the authorities explained.

The Defense Department has hired Abba Schwartz, former director of the State Department's office of Security and Consular Affairs, as a consultant on how to obtain release of U.S. prisoners in North Viet Nam, North Korea and Communist China.

Schwartz was reorganized out of his State Department post in 1966 while abroad after the White House became disturbed over the way he was handling refugee affairs.

★ ★ ★

Sen. Vance Hartke (D.-Ind.) is wondering who at the White House speaks for the President.

Before the recent congressional reception at the White House, Presidential Assistant Mike Manatos called at Hartke's Senate office and urged him to be sure to attend, stating:

"President Johnson asked me to personally make sure you will attend the reception so he can talk with you. It is very important."

Hartke, who had planned to pass up the affair because of an afternoon engagement in Indiana, rushed back to Washington by plane to attend.

After arriving at the White House, Hartke went out of his way to approach the President several times. On each occasion, however, the President snubbed his foreign policy critic by turning and walking away when approached.

White House aides say the President is sore at Hartke for circulating reports that he doesn't plan to run for reelection. The Indiana Democrat claims he isn't circulating the report, just stating his own private belief.

★ ★ ★

President Johnson's top advisers on Viet Nam, now that Robert McNamara has left the Defense Department, are rated in this order of influence: Presidential Assistant Walt Rostow; Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas; Defense Secretary Clark Clifford; and Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

President Johnson is telling congressional friends that John B. Connally, the outgoing governor of Texas, will join his Administration later this year.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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● A foreign policy expert on the Far East, after talking to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, believes the State Department is not really all that eager to mobilize public opinion behind the war in Viet Nam. The startling reason: Rusk told this nationally known figure that he was actually afraid the public might demand more militant means to stop the Communists that would coincide with "**right-wing**" **sentiment** for a military victory there. The State Department, suggested this amazed expert, apparently is less afraid of losing the war in Viet Nam than in taking vital steps in this country to win it.

● Talk again crops up in Washington that LBJ may dump Vice President **Hubert Humphrey** at convention time as a concession to dovish Democrats who are putting LBJ's renomination in peril. Humphrey is perfectly expendable. He holds very little political appeal to the voter at large; many of his close friends and associates have recently been implicated in government scandals; and he couldn't stop Sen. Eugene McCarthy from capturing a sizable amount of delegates in Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor party, a party that Humphrey founded and brought to prominence.

● **Bobby Kennedy** would like to get Gene McCarthy out of the race by offering him a deal, but politicos can't figure out what Bobby might come up with. The vice presidency is out, since both Bobby and Gene are Roman Catholics.

● Presidential candidate **Richard Nixon** has been under fire from some conservatives who hold the mistaken notion that Nixon belongs to the liberal-oriented Council on Foreign Relations. But David W. MacEachron, the CFR's deputy executive director, notes that Nixon "accepted an invitation to join the Council and paid his non-resident dues for one year in 1961. His membership was terminated automatically when he did not pay his dues subsequently."

● In resigning his job as Southeast Regional Director of the **Office of Economic Opportunity**, Dr. Ralph Phelps has blasted the OEO as being an "administrative monstrosity" and flatly charged he was thwarted in his efforts to clean out deadwood and undesirables. "I am leaving," said Phelps, who had jurisdiction over six Southern states, "because I am thoroughly disgusted with the administrative monstrosity called the Office of Economic Opportunity. . . ." If we "are ever going to help the poor," said Phelps, "the bureaucratic, administrative mess must be straightened out."

● Merrill Englund, administrative assistant to liberal Sen. Lee Metcalf (D.-Mont.), is now in charge of giving a course to congressional aides to help provide them with research materials on special subjects and learn their way around Washington. One of Englund's latest guest lecturers: Wesley McCune, head of the **anti-conservative Group Research Inc.**, which distributes files on "right-wing" organizations for the purpose of "exposing" their actions. Englund told Human Events he had not yet invited a representative from a conservative group but said he would be happy to. We suggested a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities who would be able to provide the aides with material about left-wing organizations. We hope Mr. Englund follows through.

● Former New Frontiersman **Richard Goodwin**, now a campaign speechwriter for anti-Viet Nam Democrat Eugene McCarthy, has been characterized by one confidant as "the Che Guevara of the teeny-boppers."

● Dominican Col. Francisco **Caamano Deno**, the military leader of the republic's April 1965 revolution and a supporter of former Dominican President Juan Bosch, is now reported to be in Havana. Caamano disappeared from his post as Dominican military attache in London last November and his whereabouts were unknown until Dominican Communists revealed his Cuban visit; these sources denied, however, that Caamano went to Havana to plot another Dominican revolt.

● Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D.-N.Y.), who is always complaining that money isn't being properly channeled to the poor, hasn't uttered a peep about plans by the federally funded **Appalachia Regional Commission** to build a new park in his current home state of New York. The park, to be constructed in Ithaca, will include such "anti-poverty" devices as a golf course, bird sanctuary, swimming pool and ice-skating rink. The project will take three years, cost $1.6 million—$500,000 from local funds, $300,000 from the Appalachian program and $800,000 from federal flood protection and water conservation funds. Bobby, New York papers are recalling, was the man who did the most to convince the Senate that 14 of New York's counties should share in this Appalachia money because it would supposedly help poverty-stricken factory and farm workers.

● Both Chief of Naval Operations Adm. Thomas H. Moorer and Vice Adm. Thomas F. Connelly have told the Senate Armed Services Committee in secret testimony that they would like to **drop the controversial F111B**, nee TFX, and start building another plane better suited to the Navy's needs.

● In the latest development in the eight-month-long **copper strike** the National Labor Relations Board has actually seen fit to criticize Big Labor. Going almost completely against tradition, the NLRB has charged the 26 striking unions with "failing and refusing" to bargain "in good faith." The charges stemmed from labor's insistence on a uniform wage package for all in each union at the Kennecott Copper Corp., the largest company involved in the strike. The effect of the NLRB decision is to scuttle one of the unions' major demands, company-wide bargaining.

● The Administration is taking belated action against **draft dodgers** and other Viet Nam protesters. Justice Department officials predict that 1,800 convicted draft evaders will be behind bars by June—double the present number. The judges are getting tougher, too—the average sentence for draft evasion has increased from 32 to 36 months since last June.

● Indefatigable Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) is pressing for a full-scale probe of the **Rand Development Corp.**, a politically influential Cleveland firm that has had little trouble winning lucrative government contracts. The firm's executive vice president is George H. Bookbinder, a "former money raiser for Vice President Humphrey," according to Gross. Preliminary investigation reveals that Rand has been charging off to government contracts a posh New York apartment that is used by top government officials, including one assistant secretary of state.

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New Pressure On the Dollar

Economic experts in the Nation's Capital are saying the dramatic closing of London's international gold market, done at the urgent request of the U.S. government, has once again convincingly demonstrated the inability of the Johnson Administration to persuade foreigners that the U.S. dollar is really as good as gold.

The huge purchases of the precious metal that finally forced the closing of the market, it is said, point up the belief by speculators abroad that the United States has no intention of reducing its spending or cutting the deficit and that it will continue to resort to inflating the money supply.

Gold speculators are also obviously convinced that the Administration's economic policies will compel devaluation of the dollar. By hoarding vast quantities of gold, of course, they are hedging against any such catastrophic event.

Observers say it is interesting to note that the gold rush on the London market continued even in the wake of Congress' action in removing the gold cover on Federal Reserve currency and making available to the world market our total gold supply, somewhere in the neighborhood of $12 billion. Thus, the Administration's contention that such a move would restore confidence in the dollar has come a cropper.

A halt in wild spending and a balanced budget are the keys to rebuilding faith in the dollar, but only last week Secretary of State Dean Rusk, before the much-publicized foreign relations hearings on foreign aid, testified that the U.S. had no intention of stopping big spending on domestic programs.

RUSK

When Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.) pleaded with Rusk to make Viet Nam our first priority, Rusk said he could not rank Viet Nam over the "Great Society" here at home. Rusk strongly intimated that both were equally important and that he could not make a choice between the two. Rusk, of course, was speaking for LBJ.

At the beginning of this year LBJ sowed further fears in the hearts of the speculators when he unveiled a spectacular spending program for fiscal 1969. Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), ranking Republican on the Finance Committee, totted up the figures and found the President's budget would be $28.9 billion out of balance if his tax program isn't passed and $15 billion if it is. Thus there can hardly be any wonder as to why the speculators are speculating and why the U.S. faces another fiscal crisis.

Otepka Appeals Decision

Otto F. Otepka has asked the Civil Service Commission to overrule a decision handed down by Secretary of State Dean Rusk and restore him to his former post as the State Department's top security officer. Rusk had previously demoted Otepka and barred him from security duties, ostensibly on the grounds that Otepka had given unauthorized material to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee.

OTEPKA

"Give me at least the same treatment," Otepka declared to the commission, "as was given an employe who admittedly gave 18 highly classified documents, not to a congressional committee, but to a Communist and Soviet agent."

Otepka was referring to the case of John Stewart Service, a former department officer arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for knowingly making copies of secret documents and turning them over to Philip Jaffe, identified under oath as a Communist. Service was charged with violating the Espionage Act. Under mysterious circumstances a grand jury decided not to indict Service when he pleaded he had not intended to harm national security.

"The department termed his acquittal by the grand jury a complete vindication," Otepka told hearing examiner James Masterson. "Service was issued two letters signed by the secretary of state and under secretary of state congratulating him and restoring him to full duty in the same line of work for which he was best qualified professionally."

Masterson says he will issue his verdict on Otepka's appeal in the next few weeks. (Copies of the special *Human Events* supplement, "The Otto Otepka Story," are still available. See page 13.)

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

Bobby Rattles Democrats

A Bobby Kennedy move to wrest the Democratic presidential nomination from LBJ and Sen. Eugene McCarthy will be looked on in the Capitol as an act borne of desperation. Kennedy, it is conceded, could possibly take the prize, but he could do so only at the price of shattering his party. Bobby, it is said, had, at least as of late last week, tentatively decided to gamble because he feels it could be his last chance.

KENNEDY

Insiders say the New York senator was sizing up the picture this way when he announced his reassessment of the political scene. He feels he's getting older and if he waits until 1972 he may have lost touch with America's younger generation. John F. Kennedy's image will also have faded by 1972 and Bobby figures the luster of the Kennedy name will also fade with it. If the Republcans win, moreover, more likely than not they will be in for eight years, thus pushing Bobby's chances for office back to 1976.

There is the additional feeling that Sen. McCarthy, who had the courage to take on LBJ when all the other doves chickened out, is endangering Kennedy's following among the ideologues.

Lusting after the presidential trophy and fearful that it is slipping from his grasp, Bobby now desires to rob McCarthy of his liberal followers and prepare the way for his own ambitions. Such were the reasons for his momentous actions last week.

The Bobby bid, however, is already facing stiff resistance in many quarters. Brother Teddy, in fact, has advised him not to make the race and McCarthy, himself, doesn't look as if he's about to back out. And McCarthy's earnest supporters have already expressed angry resentment at a Kennedy attempt to capitalize on McCarthy's near defeat of LBJ in New Hampshire.

As word spread last week that Kennedy might enter the presidential contest, McCarthy workers were sullen. "I'm committed to McCarthy," said McCarthy campaigner Mrs. Mildred Rogow. "I have been extremely disappointed in Kennedy. I feel a certain outrage that he would reconsider now after McCarthy had the courage to do what he did."

ADA Vice Chairman Joseph Rauh remarked in Washington: "Gene had the guts to do something when no one else would. I'm for Gene as long as he is in the race. He turned the tide. McCarthy is my hero."

"We're going all the way with McCarthy; Kennedy is in the position of hanging on McCarthy's coattails," said Marvin Madeson, chairman of the McCarthy for President organization in St. Louis.

Michael Tonkonogy, active for McCarthy in Brooklyn, said Kennedy's announcement "fits into the whole Kennedy image of being an opportunist." Rep. George Brown (D.-Calif.) issued this sally: "I would welcome Sen. Kennedy. I think he would make a very good vice presidential candidate." A number of McCarthy supporters were also warning Kennedy that he would split the liberal vote if he entered any of the primaries where McCarthy was entered.

But McCarthy supporters aren't the only ones who are sore or opposed to a Kennedy move. Aside from getting some big names like California House Speaker Jesse Unruh to come out for him, Kennedy found his possible candidacy met with something less than overwhelming enthusiasm.

Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley, boss of the Democratic party in Illinois, said last week he was for LBJ and Gov. Richard Hughes of New Jersey reaffirmed his support for the President. Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) disclosed that he had written Kennedy a letter suggesting it would certainly be unwise for him to enter the Oregon primary.

Some thought the outbursts against Kennedy were so sharp that he might "reassess" his feelings again and either bow out or support McCarthy. But most observers believe Kennedy is too ambitious not to wind up in the presidental sweepstakes if he thinks he has any chance at all at winning—even if it tears the party to pieces. By staking out a strong anti-LBJ, anti-Viet Nam position he could, even though not entering the race right now, leave the door open for a draft later on or for becoming an active candidate if McCarthy should falter.

Hot Air from Indiana

House lawmakers on both sides of the aisle have been complaining about the antics of a relatively obscure Indiana congressman who has been thwarting a bipartisan effort to give close scrutiny to the East-West trade problem. He is Ray Madden, a liberal Democrat who, despite his lack of national reputation, is in line to succeed the conservative William Colmer of Mississippi as head of the powerful Rules Committee.

MADDEN

Madden is a down-the-line Administration yes-man, but what has particularly irritated lawmakers about the Hoosier Democrat was his performance late last year in trying to halt the setting up of a special House committee that would study all the aspects of East-West trade. Rules Committee members were shocked not only at Madden's sabotage of the bill (H. Res. 843) to set up the committee, but at his rude conduct toward both Democrats and Republicans who opposed his position.

Madden was especially insulting to Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb (R.-Calif.), who came before Rules to testify to the necessity of setting up a special congressional panel on Red trade.

Lipscomb recalled that a similar panel was in existence in 1961 and 1962 and had, through publicity and recommendations, successfully altered Administration plans to permit the licensing of strategic goods for export to the Soviet bloc. Since the demise of that panel, the Californian noted, the United States has again been following dubious practices.

"I believe," said Lipscomb, "that there is solid . . . and convincing evidence to show at this time that the items that the Soviets and other Eastern European nations have bought from the United States in prior years have helped build up the economic and military

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capability of the Soviet bloc that makes it possible for them to supply North Viet Nam, Hanoi and other areas in their efforts to support so-called wars of national liberation."

Lipscomb had barely finished his introductory remarks before Madden angrily pounced on him. Why, Madden demanded to know, hadn't Lipscomb presented his testimony to the Foreign Affairs Committee and let it deal with this Red trade matter?

Lipscomb patiently pointed out that Madden apparently was overlooking the fact that the resolution to create a special committee was before Rules, not the Foreign Affairs Committee. Besides, said Lipscomb, the Foreign Affairs Committee had not asked him to testify and, furthermore, that committee had shown no interest in conducting any investigation such as he was supporting.

Peppering Lipscomb with abusive irrelevancies, Madden then asked the Californian how the U.S. proposed to stop the French from shipping goods to Hanoi. Lipscomb tried to point out that this had nothing to do with the resolution. Madden curtly responded: "Forget about the resolution."

When Lipscomb offered the opinion that he would like our government to get at least a quid pro quo for any trade deals with the Soviets, Madden snapped: "I did not ask for a speech, I just asked you to answer some questions."

The Indiana lawmaker then took this sideswipe: "You would not think there would be a little politics connected with this move [to set up a panel]?"

Lipscomb replied: "I can say to you—"

Madden interrupted: "You can answer that yes or no. Do you think there would be a little politics connected with this move?" Then Madden launched into a tirade, charging the Republicans with wanting the committee created just to get after the Democrats.

Rep. John Anderson (R.-Ill.) shot down this thesis in flames when he said he was "under the impression the author of this resolution [to set up the committee] was Mr. Whitener, a Democrat of North Carolina who testified at the end of this table here yesterday. . . ."

Flustered, Madden flailed away to pull himself out of the hole he had just dug for himself. He claimed he was glad this matter had been brought up and then referred to Whitener as a "so-called" Democrat. Madden then accused a coalition of Republicans and "so-called" Democrats of using every war to win elections.

Rep. William Colmer (D.-Miss.), chairman of the Rules committee, politely requested Madden to yield, but the Indianan soared off into another talkathon.

Colmer was positively miffed. "Now will the gentleman yield to me?" Colmer asked a bit later, "and permit me to finish my statement as I permitted the gentleman to finish his?" But Madden still jabbered away.

Finally, interrupted only once by Madden, Colmer managed to say: "In the first place, the chair would like to observe that it is not customary in this committee or other committees of the Congress to charge a witness with insincerity."

"In the second place, the question of politics has been raised by the gentleman, he is the man that raised the question. The gentleman will find, if he will look over these resolutions, that they are almost equally divided between Democrats and Republicans."

Rep. Anderson had previously pointed out that of some 120 persons supporting the resolution, "half were Democrats." At this point Madden acknowledged that he hadn't looked at the resolutions. "I would not say that I have looked them over," he confessed. After this dressing down, Madden was somewhat stilled.

But H. Res. 843 still languishes in the Rules Committee because Madden and many of his more polite but equally liberal colleagues won't let it out.

• A number of anti-Communist Floridians, especially Cubans, would like to know how Rep. Claude Pepper (D.-Fla.) stands on H. Res. 843. Pepper is a member of the Rules Committee, but so far he has failed to make his views known. Some politicos believe that if Pepper could be persuaded by his constituents to vote for H. Res. 843, the bill would come out of committee.

Riot Control Not 'Germane'

When the Senate passed the civil rights bill last week, few papers reported how the Democratic liberals, with GOP Minority Leader Everett Dirksen giving them aid and comfort, tried to sabotage an amendment to control city rioting.

Senators Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio) and Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) had introduced an amendment on March 5 to punish agitators attempting to provoke civil disorder. In its original form the amendment made it a federal offense to travel in interstate commerce or to use interstate facilities such as the mail, telephone, radio or television with intent to incite a riot or organize or take part in it. Penalties were set at up to $10,000 in fines and five-year imprisonment.

After it had been introduced, however, Vice President Hubert Humphrey, presiding over the Senate, ruled that the "subject matter of riot control is not germane to this bill. . . ."

Proponents of the amendment were more than mystified. How could it not be germane? The civil rights bill as originally introduced, noted Sen. Ernest Hollings (D.-S.C.), mentioned riots no fewer than five times. Both title and text referred to riots and specified that the proposed law was not meant to apply to police arresting rioters.

If Mondale's "Dirksenized" open housing amendment could be incorporated into a bill that originally dealt with just protecting civil rights workers, then why couldn't provisions on riot control be incorporated?

Riot control, stated some, is far more pertinent than open housing, since many persons passing themselves off as civil rights workers are actually interested in spreading chaos throughout the country. So why shouldn't a civil rights bill be able to punish this type of civil rights worker?

As Sen. Lausche complained: "I must state that I finally voted for cloture because I thought I was protecting the constitutional rights of citizens of the United States. I am now told that an amendment which deals positively with constitutional rights is non-germane. What greater constitutional right can there be for a citizen than to live in his community

LAUSCHE

HART

in peace and freedom from riots? What greater right is there than the enjoyment of property, life and liberty?"

Sen. Philip A. Hart (D.-Mich.), floor manager of the original civil rights bill, asked the Senate not to include any anti-riot provisions but to wait for the President's own anti-riot legislation, even though the President's proposal was not yet in bill form and the long, hot summer is just around the corner (see page 8).

What Hart didn't say, moreover, is that the President had made it clear he was less than energetic in pushing his own bill and that his proposed measure actually eliminates from possible prosecution those who attempt to provoke a riot but fail to do so.

Despite all this, the Kennedys—and even Sen. Dirksen—thrust their weight against the Lausche-Thurmond amendments, but, after much discussion, the Senate finally bowed to the wishes of the overwhelming majority and permitted riot legislation to be attached—despite the Humphrey ruling that "riot control" was not "germane."

The Senate civil rights bill now has gone to the House, where the method of handling it has not yet been decided. The bill probably cannot pass the House in its present form, mainly because of its strong open-housing section (for a full description of the Senate measure, see page 15). Therefore it seems likely the bill will be sent either to the House Judiciary Committee or to a joint Senate-House conference. If the latter approach is used, the conferees will try to iron out differences between the Senate bill and a measure the House passed last year. In any case, floor action on a final House bill is expected within as little as two weeks. Thus, readers who oppose the strong open-housing section are urged to write their representatives immediately.

• Those 13 senators who voted against the Lausche-Thurmond riot control proposal: Brooke (R.-Mass.), Case (R.-N.J.), Harris (D.-Okla.), Hart (D.-Mich.), Hatfield (R.-Ore.), Javits (R.-N.Y.), Kennedy (Mass.), Kennedy (N.Y.), Metcalf (Mont.), Mondale (Minn.), Morse (Ore.), Scott (Pa.), Young Ohio). Sen. Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.), up for re-election this year, was heard to remark to Sen. Edward Brooke that he didn't want to vote for the legislation, but felt it was politically necessary.

Mundt Challenges Rusk

Hawks on Capitol Hill gave Secretary of State Dean Rusk an excellent rating in combating the doves before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week. But the secretary, it was pointed out, revealed his feet of clay when he couldn't satisfactorily respond to questions put to him by hard-liner Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.).

MUNDT

Mundt's confrontation of Rusk received scant attention in the press, but the South Dakota lawmaker brought out a number of reasons why he thought the American people weren't united behind the Viet Nam war. Mundt traced the source of much of the dissension to the fact that the Administration had failed to explain thoroughly why we were in Viet Nam and had failed to make it our No. 1 priority.

Time and time again he tried to pin Rusk down and get him to say that the war was America's chief problem at the moment, but Rusk refused to accept Mundt's premise and suggested the "Great Society's" domestic programs were just as essential to the country's welfare.

Unless the Administration, itself, takes the war as the most serious challenge facing us, said Mundt, then the public could hardly be expected to think otherwise.

Speaking as a former history professor, Mundt wondered how there could be unity on the Viet Nam issue when the Administration not only tolerated opposing opinions on the rightness of the war but actually encouraged dissent. It is the first such war that he was aware of, said Mundt, where opposition was welcomed in such abundance.

Mundt also said the public found it difficult to swallow a war in which the U.S. was providing the Communist empire with goods, which, in turn, were being shipped to North Viet Nam.

We have encouraged, said Mundt, "our American fabricators and exporters and manufacturers to sell and ship supplies to the USSR at the time that all the reports from our intelligence levels point out that all of the sophisticated weapons . . . being used by Hanoi, come to it from Russia." This can't be justified, he believed, and was another reason why so many are dissatisfied with Administration conduct.

Mundt's questions were pointed and well thought out, said observers, but Rusk seemed incapable of making a satisfactory reply. A number of military hard-liners had also hoped that some senator would ask Rusk how the United States expected to win the war in Viet Nam if we didn't engage in hot pursuit, continued to restrict our bombing and refused to close Haiphong harbor. But none of the lawmakers asked him questions along these lines.

Unless we really are ready to take the risks necessary to bring victory, it is said, the United States will continue to be bogged down in Viet Nam.

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POLITICS '68

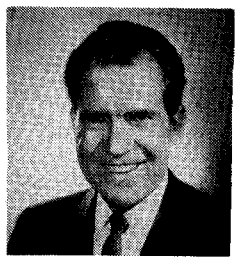
NEW HAMPSHIRE

The New Hampshire primary of last week may yet be looked upon as the **Waterloo of the Democratic party** in 1968. As the returns began to pour in, it became clear that the Republican party, particularly its conservative wing, was showing impressive power, while the Democrats were on the verge of a catastrophic division. Conservative politicos in the Nation's Capital, and throughout the country, for that matter, were understandably jubilant. Here's why:

• Former Vice President **Richard Nixon** scored a significant victory by battering the Rockefeller-Romney forces into submission and in showing up the Democratic party. Nixon's 84,000 votes—over seven times the number pulled by Rocky—exceeded the **total of all other candidates**, both Democratic and Republican. He also won all the delegates. Nixon proved himself in another way as well: The Republicans drew a total vote that equalled 71 per cent of their registered party members, whereas Democrats received only 60 per cent of their registration. Nixon thus proved himself a good drawing card. In achieving this formidable win, Nixon went a long way toward shaking the "loser image" the liberals have been trying to wrap around his neck for years.

• Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller** obviously "took gas" in this one. Liberal politicos have been attempting to play down Nixon's victory by claiming he had "no opponent" and that therefore his win was of no significance. The facts, of course, are different. Nixon had scored so heavily among the voters in New Hampshire on the campaign trail that he had forced Rockefeller's man George Romney to abandon the contest rather than face humiliation. After Romney dropped out, Rockefeller forces mounted an **intensive write-in campaign**, which should have been aided by Rocky's statement that he would accept a draft and by the publicity accompanying a special strategy meeting Rocky held with 32 Republicans only two days before the primary.

Estimates are that the Rockefeller forces spent at least $20,000 to recruit campaign workers and send out over 200,000 pieces of mail on the governor's behalf. Nixon, however, won **79 per cent** of the vote. Rocky, with 11 per cent, received just over half the 19,504 votes he received in 1964; his total last Tuesday was much less than the 15,000 his sponsors hoped for. "More importantly," noted the New York Times, "the Rockefeller write-in lagged far behind the 15,887 write-in votes cast here in 1964 for Richard M. Nixon." Nixon, of course, was at a low point in popularity that year and the write-in campaign for him had far less organization muscle behind it than did Rocky's in 1968. All in all it was a decisive blow to the New York governor and liberal Republicanism.


NIXON

McCARTHY

• Sen. **Eugene McCarthy's near-upset** of LBJ also bodes well for a Republican party whose banner is carried this year by either a Nixon or a Reagan. McCarthy captured some 42 per cent of the Democratic vote, with LBJ polling only 48 per cent. (It may well turn out, in fact, when all the Republican write-ins are counted, that McCarthy outstripped the President in total votes.) Moreover, because of bad mismanagement by the Johnson forces, McCarthy took 20 of the 24 delegates. McCarthy's victory was even more impressive in that virtually all of the Democratic party organization in New Hampshire supported LBJ, including Gov. John W. King and Sen. Thomas McIntyre.

McCarthy's near-win has opened **gaping wounds** in the Democratic party and may stir a giant free-for-all for the presidential nomination involving LBJ, McCarthy and **Bobby Kennedy**. Bobby, who seems all but certain to enter the fray, has not even ruled out pulling a Teddy Roosevelt and running as a third-party candidate. (Teddy bolted the Republican party in 1912 when he didn't get his way and ran for President on the Bull Moose party, a decision that assured the election of Democrat Woodrow Wilson.)

Chinese tradition aside, 1968, it seems, could very well prove to be the year of the elephant.

McCARTHY

After receiving an eye-opening 42 per cent vote in New Hampshire, Minnesota Democrat Eugene McCarthy now looks forward to **Wisconsin's April 12 primary** with eager anticipation. "I expect to win in Wisconsin," McCarthy flatly declared after New Hampshire.

And leading pro-Johnson Democrats in the state are beginning to agree. Following the poor LBJ showing in the first-in-the-nation primary, the President's Wisconsin campaign director, **Leslie Aspin**, admitted that his state is "more pro-McCarthy than New Hampshire. . . . It's getting to the point where LBJ could be the underdog."

Aside from his impressive New Hampshire showing, there are other **factors in McCarthy's favor** in Wisconsin, among them proximity to his home state of Minnesota and its similar ultra-liberal, pacifist hue among Democrats. Wisconsin was the birthplace of the "Progressive" movement of the '20s, begun by its senator, Robert LaFollette, and it now boasts of such liberals as Senators William Proxmire and Gaylord Nelson, and Representatives Robert Kastenmeier and Henry Reuss. None of these Democratic officeholders has endorsed LBJ in the primary, leaving only one noteworthy Democrat, Rep. Clem Zablocki, backing the President's cause, though how firmly is a matter of speculation.

McCarthy received **another boost**, this an unintentional one, with the withdrawal of Michigander George Romney from the Republican lists. Following Romney's premature retirement, McCarthy's Wisconsin campaign manager, Arnold Serwer, upped his prediction of his candidate's vote from 30 per cent to 40 per cent, with some 50,000 votes seen added as a result of Romney's pull-out; after the New Hampshire victory, of course, McCarthy forces raised the prediction another notch and declared "we're going to carry the state."

Principal reason for the pro-McCarthy influence of Romney's departure is that Wisconsin's **lenient primary** law permits any registered voter to vote for any candidate, no matter what his party affiliation. Therefore, state politicos expect liberal independents and anti-Viet Nam Republicans, who would otherwise have voted for Romney against Nixon, to now back McCarthy.

Also, with little interest in the GOP race, even conservative Republicans may now "cross over" to cast a ballot for McCarthy in the interest of **embarrassing Lyndon Johnson.**

FORD

While the liberal GOP governors have been feudin' and fussin' over Sen. Everett Dirksen's pending selection as head of the Republican platform committee, another congressional leader anathema to the governors, House GOP boss Rep. **Jerry Ford**, has quietly maneuvered himself into being the assured selection as permanent **GOP convention chairman.** In this position, Ford would preside over every session of the convention and be able to wield significant influence over the hopes and ambitions of the presidential aspirants.

Convention chairmen are supposed to be impartial and Ford, in seeking the post, had been the only member of Michigan's Republican House delegation not to endorse his governor, George Romney, for the presidential nomination. Despite an **unstated preference** for President, however, Ford is basically a conservative and intimates say he is hardly likely to favor New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

ROCKEFELLER

Following are the names of the 32 Republicans who gathered at Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's Fifth Avenue apartment in New York on March 10 to give Rockefeller advice on how to win the GOP presidential nomination. Some believe this celebrated meeting definitely made up Rocky's mind to take on Nixon.

GOVERNORS: Spiro T. Agnew (Md.), John H. Chafee (R.I.), John A. Love (Colo.), Winthrop Rockefeller (Ark.) Harold Levander (Minn.), Raymond Shafer (Pa.) and Tom McCall (Ore.).

SENATORS: Jacob Javits (N.Y.), Hugh Scott (Pa.) and Edward Brooke (Mass.).

REPRESENTATIVES: Charles E. Goodell (N.Y.), Ogden R. Reid (N.Y.), John R. Dellenback (Ore.), David T. Martin (Neb.) and Albert Quie (Minn.).

OTHERS: John V. Lindsay, mayor of New York City; Leonard Hall and Meade Alcorn, former GOP National Chairman; Robert Price, former deputy mayor of New York; Thomas S. Gates, former secretary of defense; Henry Moeller, representing Gov. Nils Boe (S.D.); Lt. Gov. Malcolm Wilson (N.Y.); Atty. Gen. Louis Lefkowitz (N.Y.); Charles Schoeneck, New York State GOP chairman; John Wells, campaign manager for Sen. Javits; Charles Moore, former campaign aide to Gov. Rockefeller; Carl Spad, former N.Y. GOP chairman; William Ronan, chairman of the Metropolitan Transport Authority; George Hinman, N.Y. National Republican Committeeman; Leslie Slote, press secretary to Gov. Rockefeller; Earl W. Brydges, New York state senate majority leader—and William E. Miller, 1964 GOP vice presidential nominee in 1964.

CAPSULES

• Some conservative critics of Richard Nixon will be surprised by the recent actions of **Curtis B. Dall**, chairman of the Board of Policy of the right-wing Liberty Lobby. Dall, who had actually entered the New Hampshire Republican presidential primary, withdrew at the last minute in favor of Nixon.

• Both Representatives **David Martin** (Neb.) and **Albert Quie** (Minn.) claim that their attendance at the pro-Rocky powwow in the governor's Fifth Avenue apartment on March 10 does not necessarily mean they're endorsing the governor over Nixon or Reagan. Rather, they say, they are encouraging the governor to run so Republicans will have a "choice." Pros in Washington wonder if the congressmen would look so benignly on a pro-Nixon or pro-Reagan candidate who challenged Martin or Quie in the House primaries to give GOP voters in their districts a similar "choice."

• Oregon's Republican Sen. **Mark Hatfield**, like his colleague Wayne Morse, a Viet Nam "dove," has stated he will support Democrat Eugene McCarthy in the 1968 presidential contest if Republicans nominate a "hawk." Hatfield, who had Morse's support in his '66 Senate victory, says, however, that his position is "hypothetical." "If the Republican party wants to win the election," he argued, "we have to offer a candidate with a clear-cut stand on the peace side of President Johnson."

• Shades of 1898: The Republican Congressional Campaign Committee is now distributing bumper stickers that read, **"Remember the Pueblo."**

• **Barry Goldwater's** bid to return to the U.S. Senate is now in a low-gear Stage One, as the candidate and his aides await the decision of the incumbent, 90-year-old Sen. **Carl Hayden,** whether or not to seek re-election. Most Arizonans — Hayden included — realize the Democratic patriarch's ability to serve out another six-year term is "iffy" and expect Hayden to retire this year; in fact it is thought he has remained in the race this long only to help raise funds for the state party organization. If he does retire, Roy Elson, Hayden's long-time aide and a 1964 loser to Sen. Paul Fannin, is expected to enter the race. Even if Hayden surprises just about everyone and does not retire, Goldwater is pledged to make the race against his old friend.

• The Oregon Democratic Senatorial primary fight between incumbent **Wayne Morse**, a Viet Nam "dove," and former Rep. **Robert Duncan**, a "hawk," has taken on an added complicating factor: the surprisingly effective campaign being waged by citizen-candidate **Phil McAlmond**. Originally dismissed as a nonentity, McAlmond entered the race before Duncan to take up the cause of the Administration's Viet Nam policy, including advocacy of closing Haiphong harbor and increased bombing of the north. McAlmond claims Duncan never said he intended to challenge Morse and got in the race only after he saw that McAlmond was doing well; subsequently, most of McAlmond's fire has been directed at Duncan rather than Morse, fortunately for Morse.

• One of Wisconsin's most powerful political names has been tossed into the state's gubernatorial election ring. Attorney General **Bronson LaFollette**, descendant of a long line of Wisconsin politicos, has declared his candidacy as Democratic opponent to incumbent Republican Gov. Warren Knowles.

• **James Farmer**, former national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), has announced he will run as the Liberal party candidate for Congress in New York's proposed new 12th Congressional District (the new district lines must still be approved by the courts). In his declaration of candidacy, Farmer said he would campaign as "a militant black independent" opposed to violence, and as an advocate of a bombing halt and negotiations to end "this obscene war" in Viet Nam. The new 12th District is virtually certain to send a liberal Negro Democrat to Washington and several prominent Negro political leaders are expected to make the race.

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Questionable Administration Statistics

Rep. Curtis Has New Doubts on Travel Tax

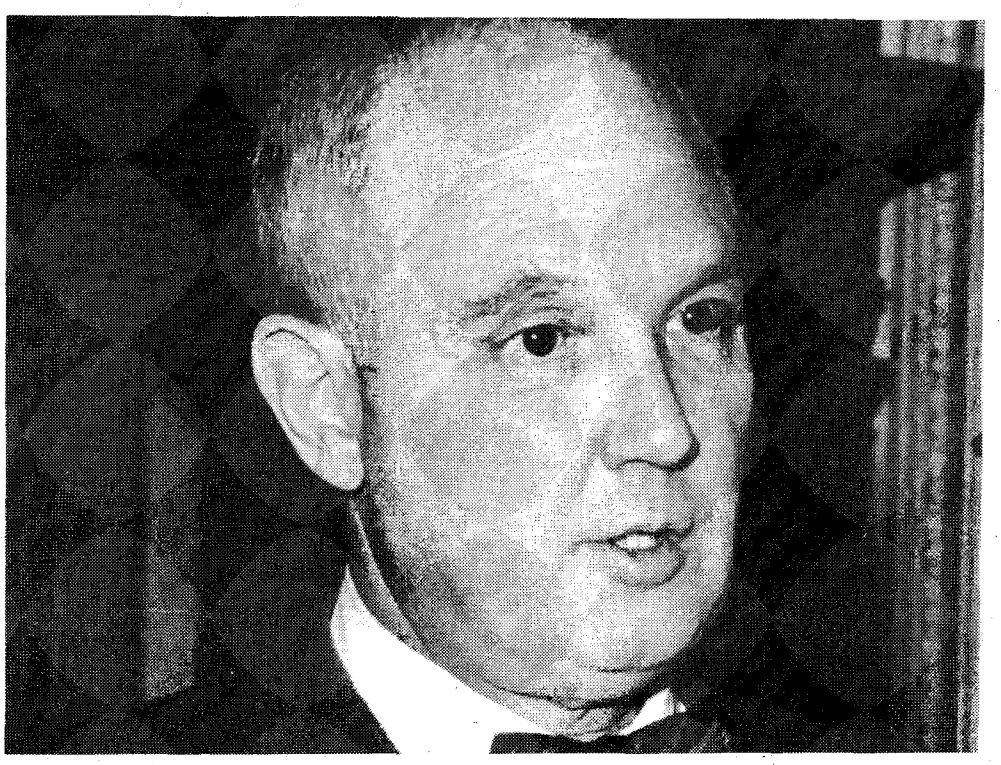
By RAYMOND MOLEY

Rep. Thomas B. Curtis of St. Louis County (Mo.), according to my observation, is one of the three or four hardest-working Republican members of the House of Representatives. As one of the veteran hands of the Ways and Means Committee he has won the respect of both parties. He is also on the Joint Economic Committee.

Curtis is, with Rep. John W. Byrnes, the most respected Republican specialist on fiscal affairs. As a result of his own labors he gives convincing and often decisive battle against the whole army of experts employed by the Administration. And now he is expected to be elected to the Senate this year, replacing Democratic incumbent Sen. Edward V. Long.

Recently Curtis came into possession of a document which casts into grave doubt the whole case for President Johnson's plan to restrict travel abroad. He entered this paper with comments of his own in the *Congressional Record.*

It was the preliminary report of a "working party" which was a fact-gathering subsidiary of the task force appointed by the President in 1967 to suggest ways of enticing foreign visitors to the United States. The report, it appears, was not intended to be seen by members of Congress and was marked with the strange restriction "Administratively Confidential." But Curtis quite properly considered that no internal security was involved except the security and credibility of the Administration.



Rep. Tom Curtis (R.-Mo.) notes some glaring loopholes in LBJ's travel tax proposal.

The history of the task force to which this document was addressed is a good example of the clumsy procedure through which Mr. Johnson arrived at a sudden decision to call for a restriction of travel abroad.

It may or may not be remembered that 1967 was designated by the United Nations as International Tourist Year. The President heartily endorsed the idea: "It is fitting that we rededicate ourselves to the importance of promoting international good will through travel. This is not a small undertaking. And it is worthy of our highest efforts and the unqualified co-operation of all nations."

That, it should be noted, was in 1967, well before the President changed his mind on New Year's Day, 1968. For then he announced plans to dedicate this year to staying at home.

A bit of chronology is in order:

In January 1967 Mr. Johnson said that he was going to appoint a task force to entice foreigners to travel in the United States.

He didn't get around to the appointment of the members of this task force until November 16. The group was headed by former Ambassador Robert M. McKinney of New Mexico.

The McKinney group did not meet for organizing purposes until Jan. 11, 1968—after the President had announced the plan to restrict travel abroad.

It reported on February 19, two weeks after Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler had unfolded the travel restrictions to Congress.

Meanwhile, the working party did its report in January. This group was headed by William D. Patterson of the *Saturday Review.* The import of that report was to throw a large quantity of ink upon all the figures presented by the Administration. For the report says that "statistics in the travel field, especially from the U.S. government, leave a great deal to be desired." Department of Commerce statistics, it said, are "inadequate, neither well balanced nor large enough, not taken frequently enough, suffering from an undue time lag and using antiquated sampling and tabulating methods."

The working party seemed incredulous that "major decisions of national policy are being made on the basis of statistics on the national travel gap . . . that expert observers believe have a high degree of error."

Rep. Curtis' strength as a member of Congress has repeatedly been shown in his analyses of the fiscal data upon which the President and his subordinates have based their proposals to Congress. In attacking the President's travel proposals, Curtis is not claiming that there is any basic right of an American to go wherever and whenever he chooses. Regulations must be imposed by any nation in protecting its paramount interests. The question in this case is whether the tourist is in any substantial way responsible for our balance-of-payments difficulties.

The weakness of the President's case is whether he and Secretary Fowler have proved the necessity for the restrictions.

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Survey of Military Experts

Viet War Can Be Won in Six Weeks

The March 1968 issue of *Science & Mechanics* magazine makes an invaluable presentation of what some of the country's most prestigious former military officers think of the way the Administration is conducting the war in Viet Nam and what should be done. The overwhelming consensus of this expert opinion is that the civilian commanders at the White House and Pentagon have botched the war strategy and some radical changes are essential before it can be over.

Science & Mechanics sent reporter Lloyd Mallan to Washington to interview 12 foremost ex-officers to get their views on the war. Among those interviewed were Generals Maxwell Taylor and Nathan Twining, former chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. Arleigh Burke, former chief of naval operations, Gen. George H. Decker, former Army chief of staff, Gen. Thomas S. Power, former head of SAC, and Maj. Gen. Gilbert Meyers, former head of Viet Nam air operations.

The conclusion Mallan reached from his high-echelon conversations: " . . . the war against North Viet Nam can be irrevocably won in six weeks. . . . Communist intimidations and aggressions in the free areas of Asia can also be struck a paralyzing blow in that same brief frame of time . . the remaining Viet Cong guerrillas in the south could be conquered within six months. . . ."

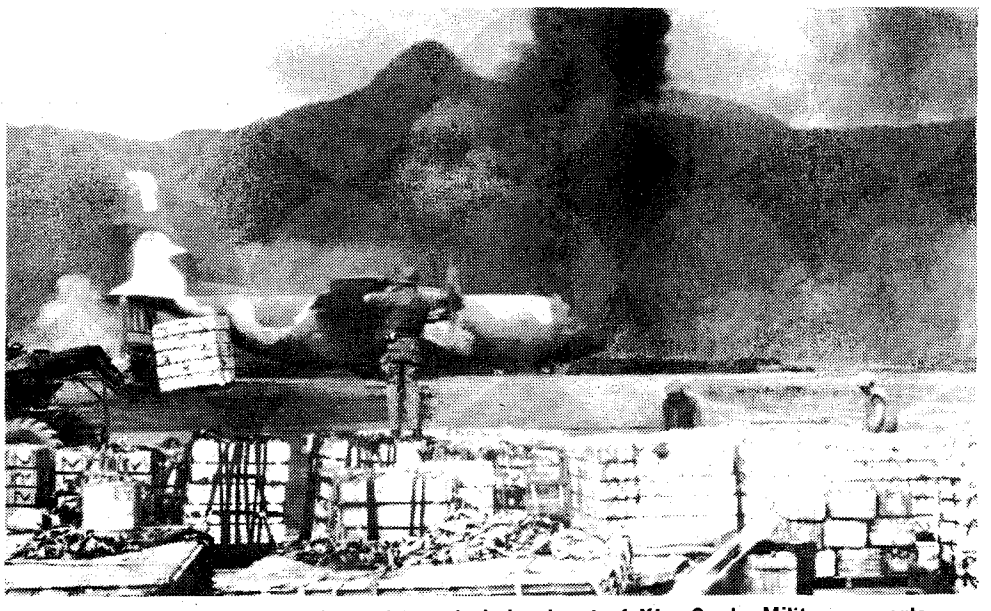
Virtually every former officer Mallan spoke with agreed that the war could be considerably shortened—and won—and most listed the same five measures the U.S. should take to bring this about; the five recommendations "for a quick victory in Viet Nam" were:

- Officially declare war against North Viet Nam.
- Close the port at Haiphong.
- Invade North Viet Nam.
- Destroy all important targets in the north, after warning citizens in target areas to evacuate.
- Warn Red China and the Soviet Union that any attempt to aid North Viet Nam would be interpreted as an act of war against the United States.

As far as the question of Russia or Red China entering the fray once the United States declared war on Hanoi, Mallan quotes Adm. Burke as observing:

"In the case of Red China, they have their own internal political problems. Besides, their logistics to support an expeditionary force in Viet Nam would be *formidable.* Our Navy and Air Force could strike and destroy vital targets anywhere inside the great Chinese land mass, thereby cutting off supplies from the Chinese Army in Viet Nam. As for the USSR, their logistics would be also formidable—and their economy might be *so* strained in these conditions that they would just say to themselves: 'It's not worth it. Let's pull out altogether.' "

And in reply to the $64 question of why the United States does not take such action as the military men advise, reporter Mallan quotes an anonymous active officer as explaining: "Politics, people who mistrust the military, naivete and fear resulting from misinformation."



Above, a C-130 takes off from the encircled outpost of Khe Sanh. Military experts say the Viet Nam war, in which the U.S. has already lost over 20,000 men, could be brought to a quick end if it were prosecuted more vigorously.

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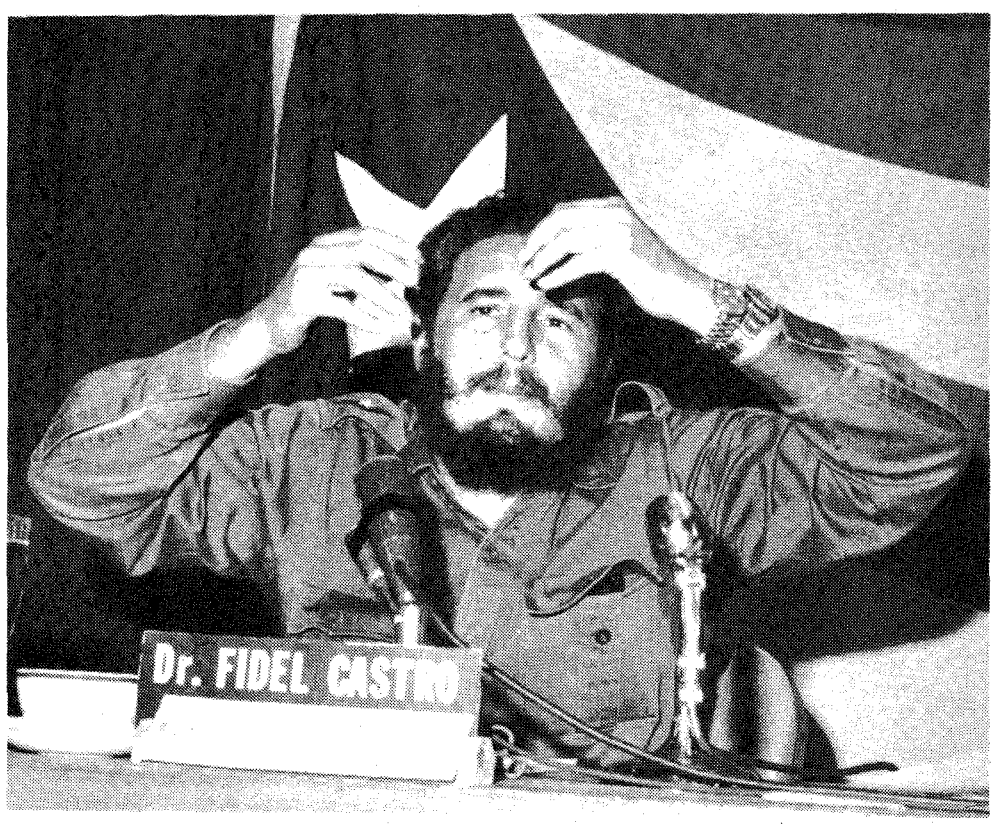

Will Cuba Be Campaign Issue?

Five-point menace to U.S. outlined

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

World disorder is spreading rapidly to Latin America. The center of infection, naturally, remains Cuba. So much so that the highly expert Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba will soon hold a directors meeting to consider trying to make our Cuban policy a burning issue in the coming presidential campaign.

In a long, detailed memorandum, Paul D. Bethel, executive secretary of the committee, lists five ways in which little Cuba has become a threat to the national security of the United States. (We have come a long way from the hopes once centered in the Alliance for Progress.)

Here are the five:

1. Cuba has become a base not only for Latin American but for worldwide subversion. Havana is the center of the Tricontinental Organization (Asia, Africa, Latin America) which promotes in every way "the solidarity of anti-imperialist movements of the three continents." Specifically, it masterminds revolts in several countries and prepares more "Viet Congs" in 43 guerrilla training camps.

2. An offshoot of the Tricontinental Organization, the Latin-American Solidarity Organization is doing everything it can to subvert, by arms, money and political support, the Negro communities of the United States. It has been successful with Rap Brown's SNCC and with Stokely Carmichael and his "Black Power" fanatics. Yet incredibly, the United States permits it to maintain a "Tricontinental Information Center" at 1133 Broadway in New York City.

3. The most audacious aim of the Cuban-centered Commies is detaching Puerto Rico from the United States. (Say this again to yourself if you cannot believe it.)

Its purpose is to drive U.S. influence and military power out of the Caribbean area altogether. The instrument is a Russian-backed organization, the "Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement" (PMI), headed by one Juan Mari Bras, linked with U.S. "Black Power" advocates.

Regardless of the fact that Puerto Ricans are American citizens and that the separatist movement has never attracted more than a smatter of votes when the question of the island's future has arisen, the new subversives are having an all but open campaign of terrorism, bombings and arson.

Bethel writes:

"Mainland insurance firms have paid out $5 million in claims because of arson. Federal buildings have been attacked; our Strategic Air Command base at Ramey Field is under tight security guard; 267 cane fields have been burned."

4. The Soviets are waging a highly successful double-track offensive against Latin America. On the one hand they support Castro's policy of violent revolution in several countries, notably Colombia. Communism is making headway in that country, as well as in the Dominican Republic and Chile.

On the other hand, they open diplomatic relations and conclude trade agreements with the very governments their agents are seeking to destroy. Worst of all, they seem to have convinced our State Department that Moscow disapproves of Castro's violence. Thus they enjoy the benefits of both policies.

Finally, by their well-hidden missiles in Cuba—23 operational sites for small missiles and six sites for winged missiles, perhaps IRBMs and IBMs by their own armed forces on the island, estimated from 12,000 to 30,000 strong, and by their close maritime surveillance of the entire Caribbean area, the Soviets are reducing U.S. strategic superiority.

So much for the five charges which the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba believes should become political issues in next November.

For meanwhile the U.S. Administration, hamstrung by Kennedy's promise of Cuban inviolability to Mr. K., does little or nothing.

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"RUMOR HAS IT that Bimini would like to send Adam Clayton Powell to the Democratic National Convention as a favorite son."—Don Maclean in the Washington *Daily News*

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WELFARE RECIPIENTS UP—How well does the American welfare machinery work? Federal welfare payments took their largest jump last year, despite a year of rising national income and high employment. More than 686,000 persons were added to the welfare rolls. While the number of people receiving welfare increased enormously, the number of families going off welfare in 1967 actually declined.

WHY?

The voters are beginning to ask the right questions about the critical election year issues:

- **VIET NAM:** Why don't we go all out to win or get out?
- **CRIME:** Why don't we start worrying about the victims, instead of coddling the criminals?
- **TAXES:** Why don't we cut back on domestic spending, instead of raising taxes to pay for more lavish welfare schemes?
- **TRADE WITH THE ENEMY:** Why are we promoting trade with the Communists, especially when our boys are fighting them in Viet Nam?

It's a good sign that people are asking questions like these. Unfortunately, they're still getting the **wrong** answers from the Administration and most of the nation's press. YOU can provide them with the **right** answers by introducing them to HUMAN EVENTS today. And all it costs is $1 when you . . .

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Is the U.S. Facing Insurrection?

Radicals and black revolutionaries plan summer of violence

By PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

The summer of 1968 could well be the "longest" and "hottest" yet encountered in this country. The mass media, the police, the various investigating committees and the black revolutionaries are all predicting that it will surpass our past riot-torn summers in both violence and destruction.

Expecting these serious conflagrations, the police agencies throughout the country are training and arming on an unparalleled level. The various city governments are also preparing for the coming summer riots by attempting to rush into existence a myriad of "social welfare" programs to try to offset the intensive propaganda in the ghetto areas calling for revolution. And, on an individual basis, a growing number of white citizens are arming themselves against the day the riots spread outside the ghetto.

All of this spells trouble for the country: the worst outbreak of violence since the Civil War. It now appears that the riots that swept the country last year were only a training ground for both the police and the black revolutionaries.

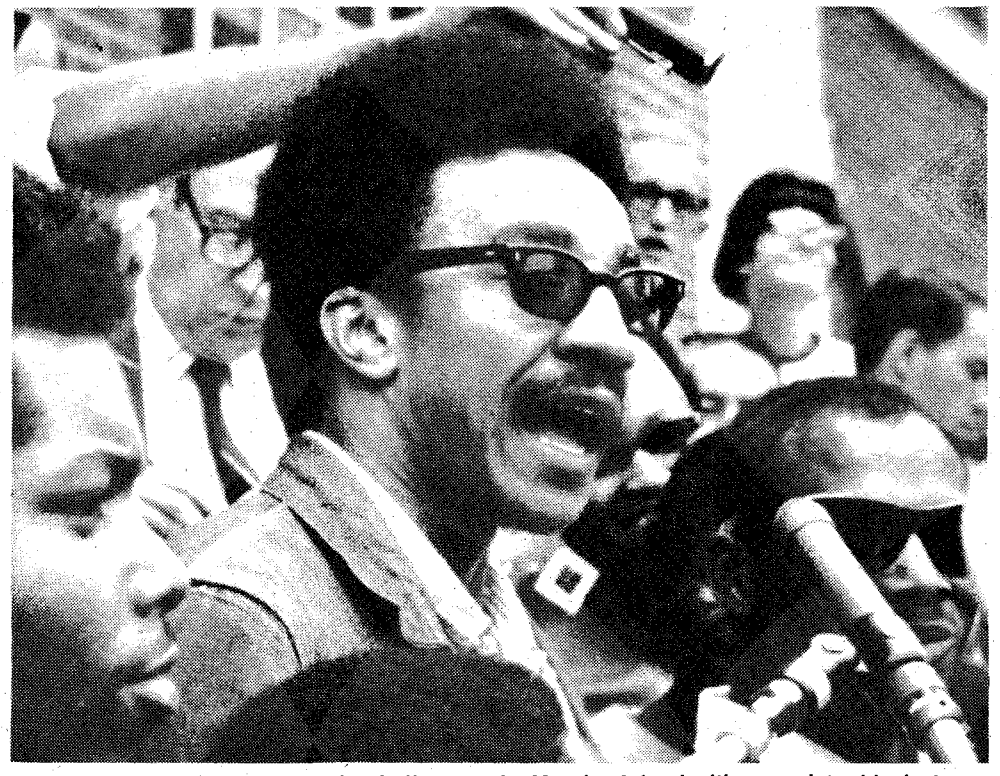
Even President Johnson has admitted that we face a summer of ghetto violence. His special citizens committee, headed by Gov. Otto Kerner of Illinois and Mayor John Lindsay of New York City, while overlooking the extent of the role of black revolutionary provocateurs, has also admitted that the outlook is good for continued ghetto riots. The FBI, the National Guard, federal marshals and the United States Army are also actively training men in the event that the riots again get out of hand and federal law enforcement is needed to handle the situation.

But, while the various police agencies are planning for the worst, the black revolutionary forces are also planning and hoping to expand the riots and to make them even more violent than in the past.

As a prelude to the summer, the first offensive will come in Washington, D.C., where the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King has called for a "poor people's campaign" to begin on April 22. Although this demonstration does not openly advocate violence, the actual programs of the "campaign" could well set off considerable violence in the Nation's Capital.

According to published reports, the Washington siege of Dr. King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference will include the picketing of government offices, a "lobby-in" in the halls of Congress and possibly the White House, "sit-ins" in federal buildings, the setting up of shanties in public places, "dislocating" the functioning of the government and blocking bridges and highways.

In a series of organizational meetings around the country, King has stated that "to dislocate the functioning of a city without destroying it can be more effective than a riot, because it can be longer lasting and more costly to society."



H. Rap Brown, who is under indictment in Maryland for inciting a riot this last summer, is one of the foremost exponents of urban violence in the country today. Says Brown, "I say that if America don't come 'round, America should be burned down."

An informant has also told Sen. John McClellan's (D.-Ark.) Permanent Investigating subcommittee: "King has turned to recruiting trained agitators from 'Black Power,' student and anti-war groups in order to fill out his ranks, save money and time. All his hard-core protestors will be professionals drawn from other militant groups."

King denies there will be any violence, but he has met secretly with black revolutionaries Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, who at this point are planning to remain discreetly in the background during King's camp-in.

King's planned demonstration is aimed at forcing the government to appropriate approximately $10 billion to guarantee an "annual income" for everyone, including those with no jobs. Obviously, King is trying to blackmail the government into some action acceptable to him and various other revolutionaries. He has now openly warned the government that "If nothing is done, I think the riots this summer will be worse than last summer. Talk of guerrilla warfare can increase and even become a reality."

This so-called "poor people's campaign" may well turn into violence, but so far it hardly compares with other activities presently occurring in the ghetto areas of the nation.

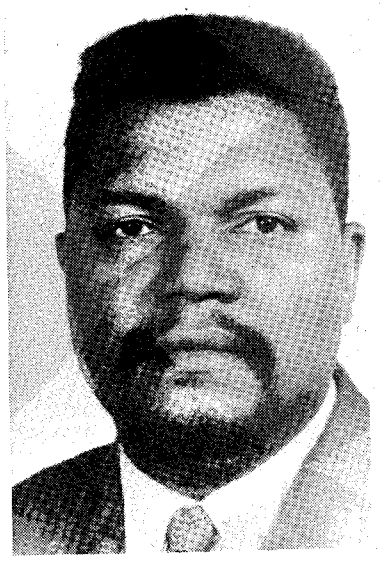
Police reports, coupled with personal visits to any number of cities across the nation, have confirmed in my mind that unprecedented violence is being planned. It is especially important that we understand what the revolutionaries and Communists are hoping for this coming summer and what plans have already been laid in order to throw this country into a state of anarchy.

Richard H. Sanger, the author of *Insurgent Era* and one of the country's top authorities on the causes and patterns of political violence, has said that "it is well within the realm of possibility" that an open insurrection against the government is developing. Interviewed in *U.S. News & World Report* (Dec. 25, 1967), Sanger said, "We are passing from mere nuisance demonstrations over civil rights and the Viet Nam war to something much more violent and dangerous. . . . Based on my own experience observing the course of a half-dozen insurgencies and revolts overseas—in Algeria, Jordan, Kenya, Cuba, Angola and the Congo—I've been disturbed to note the similarities with the situation we now have in this country."

Following the riots last summer, the pro-Chinese Communist Progressive Labor party stated that "the wheels are turning, particularly in the minds of the black community, over the facts that an uprising of this sort [in Detroit] can stop the economy of a city, authorities can be made to blunder and muddle, fear can be instilled into a surprisingly large number of troops and police with some ease and guerrillas can operate effectively and with relative security in a city environment."

A new addition to the writing staff of the pro-Communist weekly newspaper, the *National Guardian*, is Julius Lester, a spokesman for SNCC and a co-traveler with Stokely Carmichael to Cuba this past year. In a recent column, Lester stated:

"The struggle will be long and hard and many a heart that now beats will be shattered by a spherical, powder-filled piece of steel. Those who oppress do not respond to petitions, demonstrations and the demands of the oppressed. The oppressor murders at his leisure and does not cease until the oppressed, recognizing that the oppressor has no right to oppress, assert their right to live by using the only language the oppressor has ever used and the only language that he understands—the sound of gunfire, the sound of dynamite, the sound of his own death in his ear."



Robert Franklin Williams, now living in Red China, tells his readers how to make 'Black Power Bombs.'

From visits to a number of ghetto areas throughout the country and in conversations with both black militants and police two distinctive characteristics have become apparent: The mood of the ghetto is seething under the winter's cold and many black people seem willing to engage in almost kamikaze battles in the coming summer. Secondly, the black revolutionaries have changed their propaganda campaign from one advocating simple revolution and violence aimed at overthrowing the "white people structure" to an approach that stresses the need to arm and prepare for violence that will be initiated by the white man.

The revolutionary elements in the ghettos are now advocating violence as a response to "genocide" which they claim is about to be launched by the police. This kind of insidious propaganda is to be found everywhere and is being spread in pamphlets and speeches.

On February 18, Stokely Carmichael told a group in Oakland, Calif., that "Many of us feel that they [the whites] are getting ready to commit genocide against us." This kind of irresponsible demagoguery has led the black revolutionaries to making even more rash statements. James Forman, the inter-national director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is presently asking fellow revolutionaries to fulfill the following "in the event" he is "assassinated":

"• Ten war factories destroyed.

"• Fifteen police stations blown up.

"• Thirty power plants demolished.

"• No flowers.

"• One Southern governor, two mayors and 500 racist white cops dead.

"• A generous, sustaining contribution to SNCC."

Forman is also quoted as demanding in the event of the "assassination" of Stokely Carmichael or H. Rap Brown that the above figures be doubled.

Julius Lester, writing in the *National Guardian*, parrots the same incredible line. In the February 24 issue of that paper he states: "The government has made extensive preparations for the coming summer. If necessary they'll hire somebody to go throw a rock through the window of a ghetto store. Any way you go, there is going to be violence this summer. . . .

"Faced with the prospect of extermination, blacks are arming themselves, and saying thereby, if you are marked for death, just don't die without knowing that some honky is going to be buried the same day you are. And preferably, two or three."

To anyone who might resist this view of white America, Lester has this to say:

"For those who read this and can only view it as extreme paranoia, reflect on the history of this country—the rape of Africa for black slaves, the extermination of the Indian, the

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Mr. Luce, a Human Events *contributing editor, is a long-time student of guerrilla warfare and the "Black Power" movement. In 1965 he left the Progressive Labor Movement, a pro-Chinese Communist organization in the United States, when he learned that its leaders had plans to create disorder and violence in America. He has since given expert testimony on these matters before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Luce's* Road to Revolution, *published last year, has received wide recognition as an authoritative book on the radical movement in the United States.*

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atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the war in Viet Nam. America's history shows that its capacity to murder is unfathomable. Hitler is held up to us as the example supreme of a madman, but only so that attention will be drawn away from our own madness and insanity. Blacks are taking up arms to respond to this madness. It is not the role of whites to argue against this."

A recent important merger involving SNCC points up this new approach to this coming summer's violence. The merger, which ties SNCC organizationally to the violence-oriented Black Panther party of California, was announced at a meeting called to celebrate the 26th birthday of Huey P. Newton, the Black Panther's "minister of defense."

Last October, Newton, who is prone to having himself photographed in an animal skin-covered throne while dressed in a black leather jacket, beret and holding a long rifle in one hand and a spear in another, was arrested and later indicted for murder, assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer and kidnapping.

This case, which is a rallying cry for the black revolutionaries, is presently awaiting trial but the alleged facts indicate that Newton, who admits to always carrying a weapon, was stopped by Oakland police and after a serious altercation took place in which one policeman was shot to death and another wounded, Newton commandeered a passing car and forced the driver to take him to a hospital where he was treated for a stomach wound and later arrested.

It will be recalled that it was the Black Panther party that staged an armed demonstration at the state capitol in Sacramento some months ago in opposition to legislation favoring "gun controls." The announcement of the Black Panther-SNCC combination came from Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panther "minister of information" who told the gathered participants: "You've all heard bits and pieces about the merger of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Well, it's a fact."

The new combine has announced its intention to run Huey Newton in the 7th Congressional District of Alameda County as a write-in candidate on the ultra-left "Peace and Freedom" party ticket.

At this same meeting, James Forman, who was named as minister of foreign affairs for the Black Panthers, again promised instant and specific retribution for "assassination" of black revolutionaries. He specifically singled out "these white piggish cops that occupy our communities" for murder.

H. Rap Brown spoke at the same meeting, in violation of judicial "travel restrictions" placed on him following his arrest in New Orleans for carrying a rifle in interstate commerce. Brown is presently in jail facing charges in New Orleans and in Maryland for his role in the Cambridge, Md., riot last summer.

Former SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael spoke about Huey Newton and his only criticism of Newton was that "if he was going down on the honky cops that night, he should have told me first." Carmichael said black people must "Create alternative systems of justice and become executioners if necessary when white cops murder black people."

In city after city that I have visited since September I have been struck with the same type of advocacy of violence among the black revolutionaries. A youthful black revolutionary in Detroit told me recently that he, along with various members of the ultra-leftist Revolutionary Action Movement, was storing arms in preparation for the summer. In Columbus, Ohio, a black leader told me that he had seen a variety of automatic weapons secreted throughout the ghetto area and that these arms included machine guns. The same picture was obvious in Newark, New York, Chicago and Miami.

The police in a number of cities are working feverishly to prevent this summer from turning into a blood bath of unimagined proportions. Special riot control classes have been held in most major cities and the police have been armed with a variety of new weapons to help control serious outbreaks of violence. In Atlanta, Ga., the police have even developed an evacuation plan in case the riots get out of control and sectors of the city have to be left to the rioters. Their plan also contains

a counterattack strategy to regain these abandoned areas.

The Communist-controlled Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) has been especially active in the ghettos during the past year, although it has been hard hit by active police surveillance and arrests. RAM is headed by Robert Williams, who now lives in Peking, China, rather than return to the United States and face kidnapping charges. Despite his absence, his RAM organization has been involved in any number of bizarre attempts to foment violence in the United States. This is one organization that matches its violent outcries with action.

A front-group for RAM, the Black Liberation Front, was responsible for the abortive attempt to blow up the Statue of Liberty and the Washington Monument in 1965. Three of its members later served prison sentences for their attempt. One of those convicted, Robert Collier, is now working on a Mayor Lindsay poverty project in New York City.

Last summer 17 members of RAM, including its U.S. leader Max Stanford and the assistant principal of a Long Island night-school, were arrested in a plot to assassinate the "moderate" black leaders (Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young). The hope of these RAM members was to create panic in the ghetto areas and place the blame on "white extremists."

Then, this past fall, Philadelphia RAM members came up with a program to poison the city water supply and kill off the members of the police force. On February 26 of this year two members of RAM in Philadelphia pleaded guilty to charges of plotting a riot there last summer. They planned to place potassium cyanide in the water supply and then begin a riot once deaths started occurring.

In the issue of Robert Williams' publication, *The Crusader*, most recently distributed in this country (it is printed in Communist China) he lays specific plans for the summer. He tells his readers:

"A tightly organized and highly mobile underground guerrilla force would have to be clandestinely organized. This well-disciplined force would play a more aggressive role. It would be well versed in handling explosives and deadly accurate when deployed as snipers. Its mission would be retaliation, to visit attrition upon the enemy and to pin down and bring about a dispersal of his concentrated forces.

"This guerrilla force must operate in small bands and know every inch of that part of the city where it is to operate. It must control its fire and use its ammunition sparingly. It must be highly mobile and constantly shift its position when sniping to avoid detection, death or capture. It must have a perfect understanding of its mission at all times.

"When operating in full view of great throngs of people, its members should cover or mask their faces to prevent revealing identity. It should handle its weapons with gloves, especially the captured ones, so as not to leave incriminating fingerprints on weapons that may later fall into the hands of repressive authority. These groups, while sniping and performing other missions of sabotage, should be extremely careful in avoiding death and injury to the friendly black population."

It has already been proved that much of the sniper fire directed against the police and army troops in Detroit last summer came from members of RAM. Robert Williams now envisions new work for his sniper teams. In the same issue of *The Crusader* Williams goes on to give specific instructions on how to make a new kind of bomb:

"Molotov cocktails are very effective weapons in urban guerrilla warfare. However, a jumbo size is even more effective. The jumbo size or the Black Power Bomb can be most effectively used against tanks and armored troop carriers where streets are narrow and buildings are three or four stories high.

"The jumbo size of the gasoline bomb can be made by using an empty syrup bottle of one-gallon capacity. These gallon-sized glass jugs are usually available around confectionaries, drugstores, restaurants and warehouses. Each is equipped with a screw-on cap and is fitted with a finger grip or a built-in ring by which to handle the bottle or jug with a single finger.

"This type of jug can be filled with almost three-fourths gasoline, about one-fourth extra-heavy motor oil with lubrication grease added. The screw-on cap should be tightened after which a Tampax, well-soaked in gasoline, should be securely taped or wired to the jug. The soaked Tampax or well-soaked rag is lit when the individual is ready to heave the Black Power Bomb.

"The glass jug or container breaks on impact, thus igniting the gasoline, oil and grease, resulting in a napalm-like effect. This is highly effective when heaved from a roof top into personnel (troop) carriers. It can also be thrown as a satchel charge against tanks and other armored vehicles."

It is highly improbable that a revolution such as that envisioned by Williams could succeed. After all, the black man in the United States only constitutes about 11 per cent of the population, only a small portion of which would be willing to go along with such violence. Also, the conditions for an extended guerrilla war just do not exist in the United States.

Nevertheless, Williams ends his recent issue of *The Crusader* with this prophecy:

"Yes, a minority revolution could succeed in racist and imperialist America. Its chances of success today are better than at any previous time in history. America is an imperialist power with its tentacles spread around the world. It has arrogantly proclaimed its hypocritical self savior of the entire world. The fact of the matter is that it cannot even save itself. The American black man holds the balance of power in the world today. He holds the fate of America in his hands."

The nation has been fortunate that to date the ghetto riots have not spread into industrial and suburban sections. But plans of various black revolutionary organizations now reveal that they hope to change that pattern this summer. As an example of what they have in mind, there is evidence that during the Newark riots last year a number of cars full of black revolutionaries attempted literally to invade a nearby suburb but were turned back by the police.

A major hope of the various Communist organizations is to urge the black people of the nation to "rise up" against the white government. The Communists do not seriously believe that a black uprising could in itself overthrow the government and create a "black state." Instead, the Communists believe they can utilize the black nationalists to create riot conditions, thereby fomenting a race war and, they hope, nationwide anarchy.

It may sound extreme and unrealistic, but the Communists are convinced that a race war, pitting white against black, would naturally evolve into a situation in which the various law enforcement agencies could not contain the violence and law and order, as we know it, would evaporate. In this situation the Communists would hope to attempt a *coup d' etat* and possibly take power.

Of course, it must be stressed, this is only a theory, and to date the Communists know they are not strong enough to implement such a strategy; as one expert sizes up their immediate goal, "revolution, no—insurrection, yes."

Across the nation, in ghetto after ghetto, the cry for violence is being echoed by every black revolutionary—most of whom have organizations backing them up. The big-city ghettos are obvious areas of radical activity, but lately even the smaller ghetto areas have not escaped the revolutionary activity of the black nationalists.

A recent report from Reading, Pa., gives an example of the kind of bravado being exhibited. A black revolutionary there named Kiraka, who leads a group called the Progressive Organization of Afro-American Youth (POAAY), has been quoted as stating: "As I see it, 'Black Power' is the last call for white America to accept the black man, his demands and his standards . . . our own culture, etc. If society fails, as they are failing now, the ultimate end will be a violent revolution."

This kind of revolutionary talk now can be heard throughout the United States. Although the police are preparing for extensive trouble, this summer may test our national will to survive.

Rap Brown succinctly stated the political irrationality of the black revolutionaries which the country is up against when he bragged:

"I say that if America don't come 'round, America should be burned down."

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'Soak the Rich' Formula

LBJ Strategy: Switch 'Surtax' to 'War' Tax

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

Congress has huffed and puffed that it will not vote a 10 per cent surtax unless and until President Johnson substantially cuts the federal budget. The Republicans in the House of Representatives call for a $6-billion slice over the bloated fiscal 1969 request of the Administration and urge a call-back of troops from Europe which will not only save the taxpayer money but ease the balance-of-payments deficit that is draining away our gold reserves.

But the huffing and the puffing are no measure of congressional resolve. For while the honorable senators and representatives make their defiant speeches, the White House continues to remain serene that taxes will be increased. In fact, the President's strategy calls for new measures which will make the surtax look like a dime tip, but which the Congress will have to accept.

Reliable sources are convinced that the President will squeeze acceptance from the Congress by tossing away the "surtax" designation and calling for a "war" tax. What member of Congress will have the fortitude to stand up against any measure which, it will be said, is necessary to keep our fighting men in bullets? To argue that military spending can be increased, without raising the tax ante, by cutting off some of the civilian fat will be considered politically dangerous—an invitation to defeat at the polls in November.

This, at least, is what the White House purportedly thinks. But the President and his advisers, being canny creatures, have found a way to make the increase in taxes palatable to the average voter. The technique to be employed was well tested under Franklin D. Roosevelt and can be summed up in the simplest of slogans: "Soak the rich."

If the average voter believes that new taxes will hurt the other fellow and not himself, then he can afford the patriotism of demanding an all-out sacrifice for the fighting men. And so, "soak the rich" seems to be the formula. If reports are true, the new increase will not be an across-the-board 10 per cent at all. Instead, the increase will be graduated, with the middle and upper-income taxpayers paying a higher rate on each dollar earned, as they do in the regular income tax. As income increases, so will the rate.

Another aspect of what the President will ask of Congress is the emphasis on hitting corporate earnings. In the past year, those earnings have, for the most part, declined. Mr. Johnson's tame economists would have them decline even further, taking a beating from the government before they have recovered from the impact of labor's bigger slice and the general inflationary trend.

Corporations don't vote, so that it is superficially less dangerous politically to penalize them. But corporations must continue to exist, and if the sharp increase in corporate taxes now being considered by the Administration is, in fact, imposed, then industry and business will be compelled to respond by another round of price increases. So the complacent taxpayer, certain that the "war" tax cannot really touch him, will feel the pressure on his wallet as tenderly—if not more so—than he would have from a surtax.

Standing between the Administration and the plans it is presumably drawing up is the general paralysis of Congress. The prevailing mood on Capitol Hill is one of stubborn reluctance to pass any legislation.

In the House, this mood is almost palpable. After all, every member must stand for re-election in November. And those frank enough to admit it say that at times such as these inaction is safer than action. The voter may grumble about the way the Congress refuses to get off the dime, but he gets positively ugly over legislation that rubs him the wrong way.

A "war" tax carefully camouflaged to appear harmless to the average voter, however, may be palatable to the Congress if the Administration brings all its accumulated nobility of purpose to bear. It will be a calamity for the economy, but the President will be able to point with pride when he makes his acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention.

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Seven Years of Mismanagement

Bad Government Relies on Public Forgetfulness

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

On March 1 the gross federal debt reached precisely $352,546,363,116.57.

This U.S. Treasury figure hits each one of us where it hurts. And if our country is to be saved it will only be saved by holding our bungling leaders accountable for what they do.

Given good and sensible management we would not be in our perilous state at home and abroad. None of it was, or is, inevitable.

Good management cannot save everything, but bad management can ruin anything. The greatest need in public information today is to break through the double-talk and come up with the actual score.

The New Frontier-Great Society inherited a federal debt of $283 billion. Breaking every promise they previously made, Presidents Kennedy and Johnson alike plunged directly into more debt. They lifted the legal ceiling seven times.

In presenting his fiscal 1968 budget President Johnson stated in the same meaningless words he has previously used with monotonous regularity: "I have trimmed this budget down to our most absolute needs." Last year Mr. Johnson ran up a $20-billion deficit, again financed by money we haven't got. This year looks even worse.

The New Frontier-Great Society inherited a gold reserve of $21 billion. Said candidate Kennedy in an October 1960 campaign speech: "We will overcome the balance-of-payments problem and the gold outflow will stop." On March 1, 1968, our gold stock was $12 billion. It hit another new 40-year low. And the government was self-driven into proposing to remove the gold backing from our currency entirely.

In 1940 Washington's tax take totalled a mere $40.28 per year per capita. By 1966, under the Great Society, the federal tax per man, woman and child in this country—and an immensely more populous country at that—had leaped to $654.48. In 1967 it was $745.16 per capita.

The respected Tax Foundation, Inc., an independent research organization, finds that the average American will spend two hours and 25 minutes of his eight-hour working day—every day—this year to earn the money to pay his taxes.

Under the New Frontier-Great Society the average family's cost of living has increased about 20 points in the index—nearly three points a year, year after year. On March 1 it reached another new all-time high.

Law and order? Urban disorders have grown nearly incomprehensibly large, dangerous and brutal since 1961. For much of this intolerable situation we can thank the vote-greedy politicians themselves who have pandered to pressure groups and ethnic minorities. Since the New Frontier-Great Society took over, the crime rate has increased five times as fast as our population.

President Kennedy's first decision in foreign affairs was the Bay of Pigs. In that incredible debacle our ancient Monroe Doctrine was shattered forever. There was no Berlin Wall, France was a functioning member of NATO, and there were only 750 American military men in South Viet Nam, all of them serving only as advisers.

In the seven years since Mr. Kennedy's decision to commit the first U.S. combat troops (12,000) there, the war—still undeclared—has become the third largest we have ever fought. And in these seven years, accompanied by manipulated news, endless victory statements and the sending of 500,000 men, we have still not built an effective front and are still not secure on our flanks or in our rear.

For five solid years this column has called Viet Nam a mismanaged war. What more evidence is needed than the situation today? The conclusion is inescapable that the American people are the victims of the greatest military scandal in the history of the United States.

Good government isn't a partisan matter, a question of Democrats or Republicans. It's a matter of performance under the bed. The bunglers resort to their usual practice of thimble-rigging, juggling the pea in their regular way. But what happens to the country in the meanwhile?

Our bamboozled public should thoroughly understand that our leadership is to blame and should be held accountable for the shame and fears that horrify us all.

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Self-Incrimination Right Was Not Intended to Protect Guilty

By PARK CHAMBERLAIN

In my article on "Crime and the Bill of Rights" (*Human Events*, Dec. 16, 1967) I referred to certain arguments in support of the *Miranda* case as "revealing a sinister presupposition that appears to underline not only *Miranda* but other like decisions, namely, *that the purpose of the Bill of Rights is to protect guilt*."

If a statement of Justice Harlan in his recent opinion voiding the Wagering Tax Law is to be taken at face value, it would seem that this sinister presupposition no longer "appears" to underlie such decisions, but is now in fact declared by the Supreme Court to be their foundation stone.

Justice Harlan said "The constitutional privilege [against compelled self-incrimination] *was intended to shield the guilty as well as the innocent*" (my italics).

Now, if Justice Harlan means simply that the privilege against self-incrimination, like the right to counsel or any other provision of the Bill of Rights, is *available* to everyone, whether innocent or guilty, then he has said nothing sinister; he has merely repeated a platitude.

But if he means what his language says, namely, that the privilege is actually *intended* to shield, i.e., to *protect*, the guilty, then the good judge has said something no one has ever before dreamed to be the truth.

On the contrary, it has always and invariably been believed that although such constitutional provisions are available to both innocent and guilty, they are *intended* to *protect* only the innocent; and that if a guilty person takes such advantage of them that he is enabled to violate someone's rights, or enabled to escape punishment after such a violation, then this is a deplorable even if sometimes necessary result of such constitutional protections.

Is this no longer the rule then? Is it henceforth to be the rule that the *intent* of the privilege against self-incrimination is to protect a faithless trustee who refuses to file an accounting lest it reveal his defalcations? Or to protect a kidnapper who could provide the information that would preserve the rights of his victim to his life and liberty? Must it be regarded as the *intent* of the right against unreasonable search and seizure to protect a Klansman who in the privacy of his own home is torturing a Negro?

Again and again I have laid down the basic rules which should guide us in these matters: that we are each of us endowed with inalienable rights, the preservation of which is the prime purpose of government; and that the Bill of Rights must never be interpreted so as to frustrate the accomplishment of this purpose. And yet any interpretation of the Bill of Rights which holds that its purpose is actually to protect the guilty can mean only that in the eyes of the Supreme Court, the preservation of your rights and my rights to our lives and liberties will be subject always to the *prior* protection, against our servants the police, of those who would violate them.

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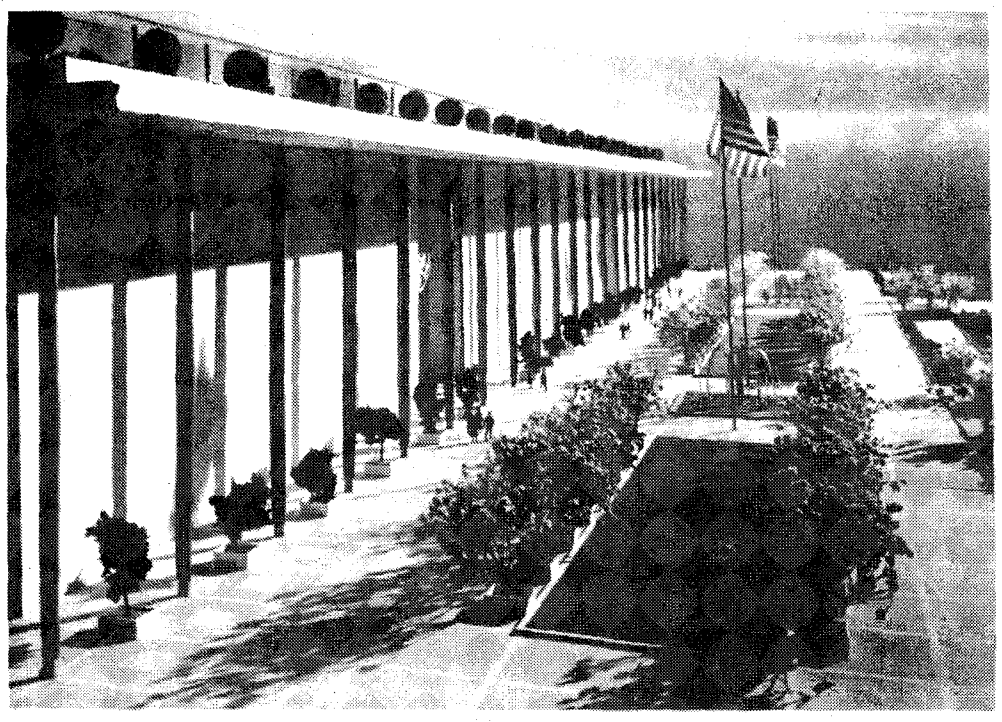

An artist's rendering of the Kennedy Center, now under construction.

Few Dare to Criticize D.C.'s Kennedy Center

By DON MACLEAN in the Washington *Daily News*

Is there no one in all officialdom who will step into the batter's box and attempt to hit a home run for good taste by roundly condemning the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, otherwise known as the Colossus of the Potomac? Future visitors to the capital of the nation are going to see this monstrosity and be stunned into silence.

Not impressed, mind you, as are tourists on first glimpsing the Great Pyramid, but stunned. And then a few will become angry at this violation of a beautiful city. Others may merely giggle and laugh. But by then it will be too late, because this enormous, marble and steel structure will be squatting there on the banks of the Potomac from 1970, the completion date, until the end of time. Something has got to be done now to stop the combination of well-meaning citizens and simpletons who are carrying forward this hideous task.

Let me give you an idea of the size of the thing: The Kennedy Center will be 700 feet long, 350 wide and 143 feet high! Only two blocks away will sit the delicate and lovely Lincoln Memorial. The Kennedy Center will be almost four times longer, three times as wide and about twice as tall. The Lincoln Memorial will be completely overshadowed and dwarfed.

There are those who think Lincoln deserves more and Kennedy far less, but that possibly is a political argument and we are concerned here merely with aesthetics.

The amusing thing—if anything about this can be called amusing—is that the Kennedy Administration, which this edifice is supposed to honor, was hailed by those in arts and letters as one of style and grace—a veritable "Camelot," to quote one famous lady. If there ever was a Camelot and if the ponderous Kennedy Center is supposed to be representative architecture, then it is small wonder that King Arthur's fabled castle complex has disappeared without a trace. It probably sank of its own weight into the soft, damp ground of England.

The supporters of the Kennedy Center defend its size by saying it must house a 1,114-seat theater, a 2,200-seat opera house and a 2,744-seat symphony hall. The fact that all of these endeavors here run at losses now, due to lack of interest, with one-quarter the seating capacity, is ignored.

So far, no champion has come forward to say these things and to act on them. I'm afraid that art these days is sacred, and so is the name Kennedy. Together, and tacked onto a building, they form an almost unassailable combination. Alas.

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Kremlin Harasses Newsmen

An American correspondent just back from Moscow charged two weeks ago that many of his colleagues were "influenced" and "intimidated" by the Soviet government.

CBS' Marvin Kalb told a Washington office that too many U.S. newsmen were afraid to file stories that the Kremlin might find offensive.

Kalb said that the Soviet Foreign Office recently called the 26 Moscow-based American correspondents and warned them not to attend a press conference called by the mother of a Soviet intellectual convicted in secret of "anti-state" activities.

Of the 26, Kalb said, only four defied the Kremlin threat—"illustrating that the secret police have a more effective influence over the Western press corps than the Soviet people."

A wire service newsman who has served in the Russian capital confirmed Kalb's story. "Too many of us," he said, "took the easy way. Because we didn't want to risk expulsion we took our cue from the Soviets. Digging was out of the question."

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Englishman Speaks Out

Why Americans Are Fighting

By BERNARD LEVIN in the London *Daily Mail*

Bernard Levin, a sharp-tongued columnist for the London **Daily Mail**, is one of the few members of the British press corps who supports the U.S. effort in Viet Nam. Levin thought he would receive a barrage of criticism for the column reprinted below. He did, in fact, receive a flood of letters, but they ran 3 to 1 in favor of his position. Commenting on this reaction, he says, "We can now firmly discount the myth that practically nobody in Britain understands and supports the American stand over Viet Nam."

I spent yesterday evening at the opera (Wagner, of course). You, I dare say, spent it helping your children with their homework, or watching television, or learning the piano, or reading a book.

A lot of Americans and South Vietnamese, however, spent it dying.

Strange to relate (and I imagine that many of them would find it as strange as anyone), they spent it dying so that you can go on watching television, learning the piano, reading books, and helping the children with their homework, and so that I can go on listening to Wagner.

I don't know about you, but I am grateful and will now say why.

A battle was launched in Viet Nam in which bands of North Vietnamese and Viet Cong swept through South Vietnamese towns, killing and pillaging, while others launched a major offensive against the American base at Khe Sanh.

It is not, I believe, too fanciful to describe the battle as potentially one of the major turning points of civilization, and to think of Gen. Westmoreland and his men in the way that, with the perspective of history to aid us, we think of Leonidas and the Spartans at Thermopylae, John Sobieski facing the Turks at the gates of Vienna, or Lord Dowding and the fighter command in the battle of Britain.

For each of those battles changed the face of the world for the better or, rather, prevented others from changing it for the worse.

And so it may be at this moment in Viet Nam. The war there is confused and horrible; its aims blurred, its methods savage, its cost in innocent blood uncountable. But if it is lost, if the Americans finally get tired of doing the world's work for nothing but the world's abuse, if South Viet Nam is left to its fate, then what will follow is not merely the piecemeal engulfing of the rest of Southeast Asia.

What will follow, as surely as Austria followed the Rhineland, and Czechoslovakia followed Austria, and Poland followed Czechoslovakia, and six years of world war followed Poland, is a nuclear confrontation on a global scene between the forces at present engaged in one tiny corner of the globe.

And that, in the end, is why my Wagner and your children are at stake this day in a far-off country of which we know nothing. The Americans are not fighting the war there so that Saigon racketeers can grow fat on black market profits; indeed, they are only secondarily fighting it so that Saigon may stay free long enough for a society to grow up there that will be strong enough to dispense with the racketeers.

They are not even there because if they leave they will one day be digging gun emplacements in California, as the Australians will be digging them around Darwin.

They are there because they know that, where aggression is concerned, the appetite doth grow by what it feeds on; and because they therefore know that, however great the price of the war in Viet Nam, it is still less than would be the price of the war we will all one day have to fight elsewhere if it is lost.

The Americans and the South Vietnamese are not alone in knowing this. The Australians and New Zealanders know it; the Thailanders know it; the South Koreans know it; the Filipinos know it. But in this country, it seems, we do not know it.

I do not think that the American resolve will crack. But a word of thanks and admiration from Britain may help to show America that here resolve is recognized for what it is—a resolve to hold the front for civilization, by convincing those who would destroy it that they are not going to succeed in doing so.

Let me now say on behalf of us all, to the Americans and South Vietnamese and their allies, even now fighting and dying in Viet Nam: "Our words may be useless, but they are all we have to offer. We understand why you are there and know that your cause is ours too. And we thank you."

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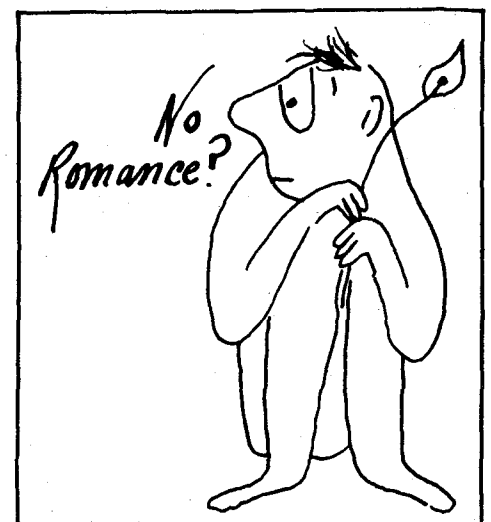

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How ACA Rates the 90th Congress

Below are the voting ratings just issued by the conservative Americans for Constitutional Action. The first column gives the cumulative scores (1955-67 for the Senate and 1957-67 for the House) and the second column the scores for the first session of the 90th Congress. According to ACA, the higher a member's rating, the greater his devotion to constitutional conservatism.

Ratings for the Senate are based on 28 rollcall votes, while House ratings came from 29 rollcall votes; pairs and announcements of how absentees would have voted had they been present are not included. Issues used ranged from the consular treaty and the debt limit to foreign aid and the poverty program.

Members are listed alphabetically by party, with the big-city members in some states listed separately. Democrats are in lightface type while Republicans are in **boldface**.

The annual ACA ratings are but one phase of this non-partisan political action group's efforts in behalf of strengthening constitutional government from a conservative viewpoint. In 1966 ACA endorsed deserving conservatives for election or re-election to either house of Congress; Executive Director Charles McManus says, "We anticipate doubling campaign assistance to candidates" during this year's crucial elections.

ACA, headed by Gen. Thomas A. Lane, provides political action manuals, research, speech material, news releases, advertising, help in administration and counseling of new candidates. Much of this help is given by individuals and firms based in the candidate's own state or district; ACA field men also assist in fund raising and getting out the vote on election day.

Senate

	CUMULATIVE ACA RATING	1967 ACA RATING
ALABAMA		
Hill	29	54
Sparkman	21	33
ALASKA		
Bartlett	10	8
Gruening	20	35
ARIZONA		
Hayden	11	9
Fannin	88	96
ARKANSAS		
Fulbright	23	20
McClellan	69	75
CALIFORNIA		
Kuchel	40	45
Murphy	82	89
COLORADO		
Allott	75	90
Dominick	79	75
CONNECTICUT		
Dodd	19	24
Ribicoff	8	18
DELAWARE		
Boggs	51	62
Williams	92	100
FLORIDA		
Holland	64	58
Smathers	35	43
GEORGIA		
Russell	70	81
Talmadge	57	74
HAWAII		
Inouye	1	0
Fong	43	44
IDAHO		
Church	11	20
Jordan, L.	88	92
ILLINOIS		
Dirksen	73	68
Percy	41	41
INDIANA		
Bayh	6	4
Hartke	14	27
IOWA		
Hickenl'per	81	79
Miller	76	76
KANSAS		
Carlson	60	65
Pearson	66	60
KENTUCKY		
Cooper	35	35
Morton	62	55
LOUISIANA		
Ellender	52	41
Long	26	23
MAINE		
Muskie	6	4
Smith	41	39
MARYLAND		
Brewster	7	0
Tydings	4	4
MASSACHUSETTS		
Kennedy,E.	2	0
Brooke	24	24
MICHIGAN		
Hart	1	0
Griffin	54	46
MINNESOTA		
McCarthy	2	5
Mondale	1	0
MISSISSIPPI		
Eastland	71	77
Stennis	69	78
MISSOURI		
Long, E.	3	0
Symington	15	30
MONTANA		
Mansfield	8	9
Metcalf	5	5
NEBRASKA		
Curtis	95	100
Hruska	94	100
NEVADA		
Bible	34	50
Cannon	26	29
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
McIntyre	19	4
Cotton	84	81
NEW JERSEY		
Williams,H.	4	0
Case	24	11
NEW MEXICO		
Anderson	21	16
Montoya	11	8
NEW YORK		
Kennedy,R.	4	4
Javits	19	17
NORTH CAROLINA		
Ervin	59	83
Jordan,B.	58	71
NORTH DAKOTA		
Burdick	14	27
Young, M.	63	81
OHIO		
Lausche	76	83
Young, S.	14	19
OKLAHOMA		
Harris	14	0
Monroney	14	14
OREGON		
Morse	14	24
Hatfield	44	44
PENNSYLVANIA		
Clark	5	8
Scott	40	32
RHODE ISLAND		
Pastore	9	4
Pell	4	0
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Hollings	65	65
Thurmond	95	100
SOUTH DAKOTA		
McGovern	5	11
Mundt	78	85
TENNESSEE		
Gore	17	22
Baker	65	65
TEXAS		
Yarb-ough	7	0
Tower	97	92
UTAH		
Moss	8	5
Bennett	86	91
VERMONT		
Aiken	39	35
Prouty	52	48
VIRGINIA		
Byrd,Jr.H.	77	75
Spong	52	52
WASHINGTON		
Jackson	7	0
Magnuson	9	9
WEST VIRGINIA		
Byrd, R.	25	38
Randolph	8	12
WISCONSIN		
Nelson	7	8
Proxmire	24	29
WYOMING		
McGee	3	0
Hansen	91	91

House of Representatives

	CUMULATIVE ACA RATING	1967 ACA RATING
ALABAMA		
Andrews, G.W.	70	96
Bevill	76	76
Jones, R.	16	22
Nichols	68	68
Selden	62	83
Buchanan	99	96
Dickinson	97	96
Edwards, J.	99	96
ALASKA		
Pollock	80	80
ARIZONA		
Udall	8	4
Rhodes, J.	85	88
Steiger	93	93
ARKANSAS		
Gathings	67	82
Mills	32	42
Pryor	36	36
Hammerschmidt	83	83
CALIFORNIA		
Burton, P.	3	4
Cohelan	4	4
Edwards, D.	2	0
Hanna	2	0
Johnson, H.	6	3
Leggett	5	4
McFall	2	4
Miller, G.	1	0
Moss	2	4
Sisk	4	10
Tunney	11	8
Van Deerlin	3	0
Waldie	6	7
Clausen, Don	85	89
Gubser	75	67
Mailliard	56	56
Mathias, R.	91	91
McCloskey*	—	—
Pettis	89	89
Talcott	85	93
Teague, C.	82	76
Utt	97	94
Wilson, B.	85	84
Los Angeles County		
Brown, George	4	11
Corman	0	0
Hawkins	2	4
Holifield	5	4
King, Cecil	1	0
Rees	2	4
Roybal	4	0
Wilson, C.	5	9
Bell	67	57
Clawson, Del.	94	96
Hosmer	77	80
Lipscomb	95	93
Reinecke	81	88
Smith, H.A.	98	96
Wiggins	86	86
COLORADO		
Aspinall	8	5
Evans, F.	9	3
Rogers, B.	6	0
Brotzman	81	74
CONNECTICUT		
Daddario	7	4
Giamo	10	11
Irwin	10	7
Monagan	15	11
St. Onge	4	7
Meskill	82	82
DELAWARE		
Roth	90	90
FLORIDA		
Bennett	51	66
Fascell	13	0
Fuqua	65	68
Gibbons	16	0
Haley	92	93
Herlong	70	81
Pepper	2	4
Rogers, P.	63	76
Sikes	51	63
Burke, J. Herbert	100	100
Cramer	90	96
Gurney	97	100
GEORGIA		
Brinkley	68	68
Davis, J.W.	41	52
Flynt	57	70
Hagan	56	71
Landrum	36	38
O'Neal, M.	83	75
Stephens	38	35
Stuckey	78	78
Blackburn	96	96
Thompson, F.	82	82
HAWAII		
Matsunaga	0	0
Mink	4	4
IDAHO		
Hansen, G.V.	91	89
McClure	100	100
ILLINOIS		
Gray	8	4
Price, M.	1	4
Shipley	19	19
Anderson, J.B.	88	82
Arends	87	93
Erlenborn	83	84
Findley	92	93
McClory	85	81
Michel	88	89
Railsback	79	79
Reid, C.	97	97
Springer	78	79
Chicago—Cook county		
Annunzio	1	0
Dawson	1	0
Kluczynski	2	0
Murphy, W.T.	3	4
O'Hara	4	3
Pucinski	10	9
Ronan	1	0
Rostenkowski	1	0
Yates	8	0
Collier	93	96
Derwinski	92	96
Rumsfeld	78	79
INDIANA		
Brademas	4	4
Hamilton	20	11
Jacobs	5	4
Madden	4	4
Roush	19	16
Adair	89	96
Bray	85	96
Halleck	86	82
Myers	93	93
Roudebush	94	100
Zion	93	93
IOWA		
Culver	10	4
Smith	12	4
Gross	96	97
Kyl	90	93
Mayne	74	74
Scherle	100	100
Schwengel	71	68
KANSAS		
Dole	94	96
Mize	80	86
Shriver	82	82
Skubitz	91	90
Winn	96	96
KENTUCKY		
Natcher	24	28
Perkins	8	3
Stubblefield	22	29
Watts	28	44
Carter	68	72
Cowger	75	75
Snyder	94	89
LOUISIANA		
Boggs	7	0
Edwards, E.	46	41
Hebert	54	67
Long, S.O.	84	88
Passman	69	68
Rarick	89	89
Waggonner	85	73
Willis	27	25
MAINE		
Hathaway	4	4
Kyros	4	4
MARYLAND		
Fallon	18	8
Friedel	4	0
Garmatz	9	4
Long, C.D.	7	7
Machen	12	7
Gude	34	34
Mathias	41	26
Morton	75	69
MASSACHUSETTS		
Boland	8	4
Burke, James	5	10
Donohue	8	7
Macdonald, T.H.	13	13
McCormack—House Speaker		
O'Neill, T.P.	5	8
Philbin	9	7
Bates	70	74
Conte	46	33
Heckler, M.M.	48	48
Keith	67	76
Morse	41	25
MICHIGAN		
O'Hara, J.G.	3	4
Broomfield	67	75
Brown, Garry	81	81
Cederberg	90	96
Chamberlain	81	93
Esch	59	59
Ford, G.R.	82	85
Harvey	74	68
Hutchinson	93	96
McDonald, J.H.	86	86
Riegle	65	65
Ruppe	48	48
Vander Jagt	86	86
Detroit—Wayne County		
Conyers	7	10
Diggs	4	5
Dingell	4	4
Ford, William	3	7
Griffiths	7	15
Nedzi	4	4
MINNESOTA		
Blatnik	5	4
Fraser	2	8
Karth	4	4
Langen	89	97
MacGregor	76	78
Nelsen	85	93
Quie	75	64
Zwach	77	77
MISSISSIPPI		
Abernethy	80	92
Colmer	82	92
Montgomery	81	81
Whitten	72	67
Williams, J.B.	87	86
MISSOURI		
Bolling	2	4
Hull	56	64
Hungate	26	29
Ichord	51	71
Jones, P.C.	64	63
Karsten	2	3
Randall	29	62
Sullivan	4	8
Curtis	90	100
Hall	98	97
MONTANA		
Olsen	6	3
Battin	91	100
NEBRASKA		
Cunningham	82	78
Denney	93	93
Martin	91	91
NEVADA		
Baring	60	80
NEW HAMPSHIRE		
Cleveland	76	82
Wyman	82	83
NEW JERSEY		
Daniels	5	3
Gallagher	3	4
Helstoski	5	3
Howard	5	0
Joelson	6	7
Minish	3	0
Patten	5	7
Rodino	6	0
Thompson, F.	5	5
Cahill	48	50
Dwyer	52	54
Frelinghuysen	58	56
Hunt	88	88
Sandman	67	67
Widnall	62	59
NEW MEXICO		
Morris	21	25
Walker	38	31
NEW YORK		
Dow	1	0
Dulski	15	7
Hanley	8	7
McCarthy	14	7
Ottinger	22	28
Pike	26	14
Resnick	0	0
Stratton	23	35
Tenzer	10	4
Wolff	25	23
Button	36	36
Conable	72	85
Goodell	80	74
Grover	70	83
Horton	44	35
King, Carleton	89	96
McEwen	86	95
Pirnie	70	61
Reid, O.R.	29	24
Robison	76	63
Smith, Henry P.	69	80
Wydler	69	69
New York City		
Addabbo	10	4
Bingham	4	3
Brasco	3	3
Carey	7	4
Celler	3	0
Delaney	8	3
Farbstein	5	4
Gilbert	4	4
Kelly	6	0
Multer	4	4
Murphy, J.M.	3	5
Vacant	—	—
Rooney, J.J.	5	5
Rosenthal	3	4
Ryan	4	4
Scheuer	6	4
Fino	45	73
Halpern	29	26
Kupferman	27	18
NORTH CAROLINA		
Fountain	63	80
Galifianakis	55	55
Henderson	60	72
Jones, W.B.	81	81
Kornegay	58	68
Lennon	77	90
Taylor	62	81
Whitener	69	83
Broyhill, James	93	93
Gardner	96	96
Jonas	90	89
NORTH DAKOTA		
Andrews, M.	66	52
Kleppe	85	85
OHIO		
Ashley	6	0
Feighan	16	8
Hays	13	5
Kirwan	7	5
Vanik	10	3
Ashbrook	98	100
Ayres	71	78
Betts	96	96
Bolton	83	78
Bow	92	100
Brown, C.J.	89	96
Clancy	94	93
Devine	96	96
Harsha	83	82
Latta	89	85
Lukens	96	96
McCulloch	88	82
Miller	93	93
Minshall	90	85
Mosher	68	58
Stanton	79	79
Taft	76	71
Whalen	36	36
Wylie	93	93
OKLAHOMA		
Albert	3	0
Edmondson	7	7
Jarman	59	83
Steed	26	25
Belcher	90	89
Smith, J.V.	89	89
OREGON		
Green, E.	11	11
Ullman	5	12
Dellenback	78	78
Wyatt	69	71
PENNSYLVANIA		
Clark	15	8
Dent	11	5
Flood	5	7
Holland	2	6
Moorhead	4	7
Morgan	4	4
Rhodes, G.M.	6	4
Rooney, F.B.	3	7
Vigorito	16	10
Biester	66	66
Corbett	47	50
Eshleman	89	89
Fulton, J.G.	48	62
Goodling	91	93
Johnson	85	93
McDade	45	52
Saylor	63	74
Schneebeli	78	93
Schweiker	60	54
Watkins	88	96
Whalley	75	96
Williams, L.G.	92	92
Philadelphia City		
Barrett	3	4
Byrne, James	5	4
Eilberg	4	4
Green, W.J.	5	3
Nix	4	4
RHODE ISLAND		
St Germain	6	7
Tiernan	4	4
SOUTH CAROLINA		
Ashmore	80	92
Dorn	79	84
Gettys	59	54
McMillan	66	70
Rivers	51	63
Watson	88	96
SOUTH DAKOTA		
Berry	89	89
Reifel	70	59
TENNESSEE		
Anderson	9	4
Blanton	46	46
Everett	31	35
Evins, J.L.	22	20
Fulton, R.	6	11
Brock	92	96
Duncan	90	79
Kuykendall	85	85
Quillen	92	81
TEXAS		
Brooks	9	0
Burleson	71	58
Cabell	52	46
Casey	64	44
de la Garza	28	17
Dowdy	82	89
Eckhardt	4	4
Fisher	79	86
Gonzalez	4	3
Kazen	0	0
Mahon	43	24
Patman	13	0
Pickle	33	30
Poage	43	41
Pool	77	70
Purcell	30	30
Roberts	51	38
Teague, O.	58	60
White	44	44
Wright	20	7
Young	16	4
Bush	83	83
Price, R.	97	97
UTAH		
Burton, L.J.	84	96
Lloyd	86	89
VERMONT		
Stafford	57	50
VIRGINIA		
Abbitt	87	87
Downing	62	56
Hardy	50	50
Marsh	84	69
Satterfield	87	83
Tuck	91	96
Broyhill, Joel	87	90
Poff	96	97
Scott	93	93
Wampler	88	88
WASHINGTON		
Adams	13	9
Foley	19	12
Hansen, J.B.	4	4
Hicks	11	0
Meeds	6	4
May	76	75
Pelly	76	67
WEST VIRGINIA		
Hechler, K.	10	0
Kee	5	4
Slack	12	4
Staggers	12	4
Moore	69	72
WISCONSIN		
Kastenmeier	9	11
Reuss	2	4
Zablocki	7	10
Byrnes, J.W.	88	93
Davis, G.R.	90	97
Laird	89	85
O'Konski	53	78
Schadeberg	94	90
Steiger, W.A.	77	77
Thomson, V.W.	88	93
WYOMING		
Harrison	85	81

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A Way Out of the Dollar Crisis

By HENRY HAZLITT

The present crisis of the dollar has been created by the policies of the Johnson Administration. Its only basic cure would be a reversal of those policies. The budget for 1969 could still be balanced—without a tax boost—simply by cutting back the planned nondefense expenditures for 1969 to the actual level of 1967. (They were then $18 billion lower.) The Fed could still stop pumping more paper dollars into the economy. But those who have been calling for such discipline in recent years have simply been shouting into the wind.

The prospect, then, is that our gold hemorrhage will continue, in spite of (and even partly because of) government restrictions on foreign investment, threatened restrictions on travel or other controls or stop-gap plans to plug up leaks.

What will the Treasury and Federal Reserve eventually do? Do they have in mind some figure—$10 billion, $8 billion, $5 billion—below which they will not allow our gold reserves to fall? Or do they really intend to adhere to Chairman Martin's pledge to pay out "to the last gold bar"?

Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler's recent meeting with world monetary officials in Switzerland did nothing to alleviate the gold crisis which threatens the dollar.

If they do that, we will be thrown off gold in any case. The paper dollar will plummet in the foreign exchange markets, and we will not have a single ounce of gold to meet contingencies. The extent of this disaster would be immeasurable.

There are only two main ways by which we could reduce its dimensions—to raise the dollar price of gold or to suspend gold payments. Given the failure of President Johnson to slash his profligate spending, it would be better to resort to one of these two measures while we still have nearly $12 billion in gold reserves.

But a great deal would depend upon the manner in which we took either of these measures. If we suspend gold payments, we should at least announce an arrangement under which no foreign central bank holding dollars would in the long run suffer a loss in terms of its own currency. We should then be on a purely paper basis, and we should allow the exchange rate on the dollar to float freely.

This means that simultaneously with suspension of gold payments we should repeal all restrictions or penalty taxes on foreign investments, all threats of restrictions on travel, all other controls or protectionist measures and all restrictions on our own citizens against buying, selling, owning or making contracts in gold.

The "necessity" for all these measures would have disappeared. There would no longer be any "balance-of-payments problem." The chief reason for such a "problem" has been the fear of losing gold. In any case, the free daily rise and fall of the paper dollar in the foreign exchange market would automatically "solve" the problem. The Treasury would neither buy nor sell gold; it would simply keep its existing reserves except for special contingencies.

Our suspension of gold payments would give a deep shock to world confidence. Wide daily fluctuations of the dollar would be disruptive of international trade and investment.

We could mitigate these evils by seeking to negotiate immediately a uniform devaluation of world currencies through the International Monetary Fund by offering to return to gold convertibility at a higher dollar price—say $70 an ounce. This step would be least harmful if, as suggested by the French economist Jacques Rueff, we offered also to redeem at once all foreign central-bank dollar holdings at the new gold value, thus liquidating the gold-exchange standard and returning to a full international gold standard.

This is not presented as in all respects an ideal solution. But we have brought ourselves to a crisis where it appears to be the best way out—if we act in time.

(Copyright 1968, Los Angeles Times)

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TOUGH ASSIGNMENT—ABC-TV's Bill Lawrence is happy that he is no longer covering the White House. "It's a tough assignment now," he says, "because LBJ's so devious."

'Quotations from Chairman LBJ'

One of the "in" books last year was Thoughts of Chairman Mao, *the Red Chinese bible that became a best seller in this country. This year, Washingtonians are chuckling over a take-off on this volume entitled,* Quotations from Chairman LBJ. *Compiled by* Look *magazine senior editors Jack Shepherd and Christopher Wren, the 188-page book was published by Simon and Schuster March 15.*

In their preface the authors note, "These quotations have been taken from speeches, musings and digressions of Lyndon Baines Johnson. Their date and source are noted for reference. No effort has been made to rework these heroic thoughts into grammatical English."

Here are some sample quotations under their chapter headings:

Arduous Struggle:

"I'm not smart enough to make a President. I come from the wrong part of the country. I like the Senate job; it's the best job I've ever had. I want to stay here." (Quoted in *Time*, June 22, 1964)

"I try to keep as far away from partisanship and campaigning as I can." (News Conference, Washington, D.C., April 18, 1964)

Frugality and Thrift:

"We are going to put 'thrift' back in the dictionary." (Washington, D.C., Dec. 4, 1964)

"Soft budgets do not build a strong America. Flabby fiscal practices are enemies not only of our muscle and our might; they are enemies of mental capabilities and moral concepts." (Washington, D.C., July 21, 1964)

More War and Peace:

"I have had advice to load our planes with bombs and to drop them on certain areas that I think would enlarge the war and escalate the war, and result in our committing a good many American boys to fighting a war that I think ought to be fought by the boys of Asia to help protect their own land." (Stonewall, Tex., Aug. 29, 1964)

Benign Despotism:

"I ran out of lead pencils last night in my night reading about 2 o'clock. I wondered why they didn't sharpen some that were there. They had all broken off. But there was nobody to criticize, so I had to get up and go to my coat pocket and get a new pencil." (News conference, Washington, D.C., April 22, 1966)

"Kilduff, I hope your mind isn't as cluttered as your desk." (To Malcolm Kilduff, quoted in the *Wall Street Journal*, July 6, 1965)

Sincerity:

"I am unaware that I have ever driven past 70." (News conference, Washington, D.C., April 4, 1964)

Adulation of Friends:

". . . . There have been few times in my life that I have ever seen a young man who combined so much wisdom and maturity with such youthful vigor and enthusiasm as Bobby Baker. . . . He is a young man who has already gone very far and who is going much farther. I believe he will reach much greater heights." (Speech on Senate floor, Washington, D.C., Aug. 23, 1958)

Contagious Optimism:

"The dole is dead. The pork barrel is gone." (Washington, D.C., March 9, 1965)

Martyrdom and Sacrifice:

"Now I am the most denounced man in the world. All the Communist nations have a regular program on me that runs 24 hours a day. Some of the non-Communist nations just kind of practice on me. And occasionally I get touched up here at home in the Senate and the House of Representatives. But that is not important. . . ." (Washington, D.C., May 3, 1965)

Piety and Correct Example:

"Well, I am against sin, and I am against lawlessness, and I am very much opposed to violence. I think we have to put a stop to it." (News conference, Washington, D.C., July 24, 1964)

Ultimate Reflection:

"I'm the only President you've got." (Washington, D.C., April 27, 1964)

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Smith's Leaving, I'm Staying

By ALICE WIDENER

Distressed over the state of journalism today, Howard K. Smith recently announced in a newspaper column that it would be his last. He says he believes "too many reporters today are not rising to the demands of a time that calls for especially perceptive reporting and especially judicious interpretation of events." Mr. Smith says, "I believe that a big contributing factor to the confusion and frustration now damaging the nation's spirit is the poorly balanced diet of journalism it is getting."

Quite rightly, Mr. Smith cites the notoriety of Stokely Carmichael as due "to the prominence given him by journalism" and Mr. Smith also charges that it is reporters' persistent charge of "credibility gap" against the Administration that is undermining established authority in the nation.

In a final paragraph Howard Smith says, "Some journalists of the present time are dreadfully wrong. And the thought has not escaped me that I may be one of them." So he is going to review his views, study the 1960s and put his conclusions into a book.

Columnist Howard K. Smith, once a staunch defender of the sacred cows *of liberalism, is now apparently having* second thoughts.

Good. And I, for one, wish Mr. Smith the best of luck and success. All the same, however, it seems only proper that his public adieu should elicit some public comment, for Howard K. Smith has been typical of the doctrinaire liberals who have done so much to create the poorly balanced diet of journalism—mostly sugar-sweet idealism and little salty realism—which has sapped the intellectual strength of *American public opinion.*

For years and years Mr. Smith worshipped in print and over the airwaves all the liberals' sacred cows—the United Nations, spendthrift New Economics, "soak the rich" taxation, Medicare, super-federalism, etc. He brushed aside all criticism from intelligent conservatives as "know-nothingism" and all attempts to guard our nation from subversion by internal leftist radicals as "McCarthyism."

In fact, Howard K. Smith even went so far as commentator for American Broadcasting Co. that he invited convicted perjurer Alger Hiss, after his release from the penitentiary, to attack Vice President Nixon. When an aghast public cried out against this offense against public morality and good taste, Smith waived away protesters as "McCarthyites."

It seems that Mr. Smith's sensibilities about the nature of credibility are peculiar in the extreme: He quits a career as columnist in dismay over reporters' present interpretation of "credibility," but he himself did not hesitate to present to the public a convicted perjurer!

Yes, Mr. Smith has a lot to think over. And a lot to atone for. If he sincerely realizes it, then he deserves utmost praise for admitting it. But having done so, and having enjoyed the privilege of wide readership, the very last thing he should do now is to quit.

Folks, these are no times for anyone to quit his post. Our nation is in dire trouble, perhaps the worst of the century. Nothing could be more helpful to it in 1968 than for us journalists to examine our consciences and views as objectively as possible, write as we honestly believe, be as accurate and fearless as we know how.

For years and years I have held some views that are diametrically opposed to those put forth by the fashionable, doctrinaire liberals who control most of the broadcasting networks and a large part of the big press. It is a miracle I have survived as a writer, a miracle largely due to my courageous editors who are true defenders of a free press and eager to present fairly both sides of controversial subjects.

Fortunately for me, several millions of fellow citizens have accorded me their valuable time as readers. I feel a deep sense of obligation to them. Naturally there have been times when I felt weary and depressed and so discouraged and self-doubting I was tempted to quit. But I'm not going to. These are no times for backing out or sliding out or fading out. I intend to stand firm.

If tomorrow I find that a re-examination of my views leads me to believe I have been wrong in most of my statements of principle and position, I shall say so and use whatever small talent I may possess—to the best of my ability—to keep faith with my readers and admit the error of my ways. If every human being who recognized the error of his or her ways were to quit the practice of a profession, then there wouldn't be a writer, painter, scientist, banker, soldier, lawyer or politician in the nation.

Folks, Smith's quittin', but I'm stayin'—as long as you'll let me.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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TROUBLE FOR THE DEMOS?—"Adding to the cost and complications [of TV coverage of the Republican and Democratic National Conventions] is the need to be in readiness to get cameras speedily to scenes of protest demonstration. TV newsmen fully expect them, especially at the Democratic conclave. One of the worst-kept secrets of the dawning political year was that of the Democratic site committee's overwhelming rejection of Chicago. President Johnson, the story goes, overrode the committee under pressures from Chicago's Mayor Daley, who assured him the Windy City's cops would be prepared to put down any unruly exhibitions of disagreement with the Administration's war and domestic policies. Most TV-news officials privately view Chicago as the worst choice the Democrats could have made under the circumstances. At least one network is so sure of trouble that three mobile 'crash units' are being readied for quick on-the-spot coverage."—By Richard K. Doan in *TV Guide*

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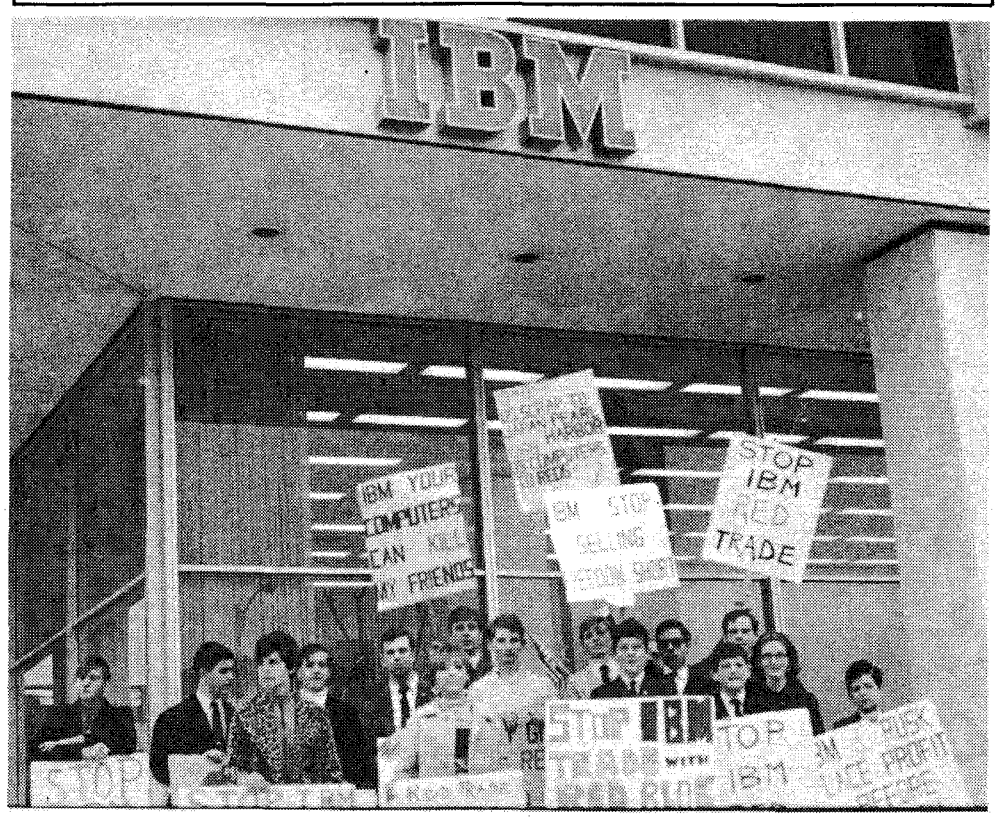

Highlighting the nationwide campaign by Young Americans for Freedom to protest IBM's sale of computers to the Soviet bloc was the recent demonstration by Texas YAF in Houston. While a week-long meeting of IBM SHARE (an association of computer users) was in progress, the Lone Star State YAFers threw up picket lines, distributed literature and maintained all-night vigils protesting trade with the Reds.

The anti-IBM campaign is showing results; IBM executives are concerned and question YAF's financial sources (a sure sign that the campaign is getting under the company's skin). In addition, some businessmen are cancelling contracts with IBM—among them California industrialists C. C. Moseley and Gerald Nordskog. Says Moseley, " . . . I predict that many Americans, including my several companies, are going to join YAF by boycotting IBM."

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Riot Report Tries to Buy Peace

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

Many of the recommendations of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders should be implemented. All of them should be thoroughly considered. But the manner in which the report was released has raised questions here on Capitol Hill.

Some congressmen, mostly Southerners, are asking if the group was "stacked" with liberal, pro-civil rights members. They say that Atlanta's police chief was the only possible exception and that he has been muted by taking orders from a liberal city administration for a number of years.

The most serious question being asked is why Bantam Books had a paperback edition in print before the official report was released. Why was an official government document copyrighted with "all rights reserved" and sold commercially? Why was the book airlifted to overseas readers even before it could be purchased through official government channels? Is it being published in Russian and translated into Chinese for shipment to Peking?

Another congressional question: If the report could be fully implemented before this summer, would it prevent rioting? Congressman George Mahon, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, has pointed out that federal outlay for health will have increased 380 per cent in the same period; education by 370 per cent; and aid to urban areas by 296 per cent. If such dramatic increases in programs which aid the poor and the ghetto dweller have paralleled the rise of racial violence, will more money be the answer?

I have a few questions of my own. I wonder if this nation hasn't promised more than it can deliver. The civil rights movement first utilized civil disobedience as a justifiable means to a legitimate end, but then it got out of control. And violence erupted when the nation started promising more than it could deliver. As the *Wall Street Journal* stated, " . . . the first riots broke out [in 1964] in the midst of the hoopla selling the War on Poverty."

The most serious question I have is whether the report was an effort to buy off racial minorities so they would not riot, loot, kill and burn during the coming summer? Or was it intended to suddenly right a long-term wrong committed solely by the white race? Either purpose is wrong. We should not have to buy the right to be safe in our streets. Nor can we solve racial problems by assigning guilt to only one race and prescribing penance.

This report has revealed an amazing similarity between our foreign policy and domestic racial policy. In foreign affairs our leaders seem ashamed, guilty and apologetic for our greatness and for what we have achieved as a nation. They mistakenly feel that this nation will be understood, loved and appreciated if we spread billions in taxpayers' dollars over the globe with little or nothing expected or required of those who receive it.

Such a foreign policy has earned us nothing but the title "world's most hated nation."

And a racial policy which is based upon a hasty and unfair determination of guilt and an avalanche of poorly planned spending as a pay-off to prevent violence has no better chance of success.

Quarantine Haiphong

By REP. JOE POOL (D.-Tex.)

Transportation is the primary lifeline of the North Vietnamese and their Viet Cong compatriots. If we cut their line of supply through bombing and quarantine once and for all, then I believe the war would soon be over. U.S. quarantine of Haiphong harbor would impress upon the Russians and the Red Chinese alike American determination to end the war with honor. I feel that they would then realize the hazards of entanglement and exert their influence to bring Hanoi to the peace table.

If we had quarantined North Korean ports when the *Pueblo* was seized, as I called for on January 24 in a telegram to the President, then perhaps the *Pueblo* and its crew would now be safely home. The quarantine was an effective show of American power during the Cuban missile crisis, and I believe it is high time we resorted once again to this device.

Surtax Dead?

By REP. BARBER CONABLE (R.-N.Y.)

The Ways and Means Committee, of which I am a member, deferred consideration of the President's surtax plan until we had a chance to study the budget for fiscal 1969. The budget is now in, and the President says it's an austere budget. In fact, he is proposing a spending increase of $10.4 billion, of which only $3.3 billion is attributable to defense. Beyond this, we have reason to be skeptical of some of his estimates, on which he's almost always been low. On the basis of this budget, I feel quite sure the surtax is dead.

Copper to Yugoslavia

By REP. RICHARD POFF (R.-Va.)

Under the law, the Department of Commerce has authority to issue export licenses for products considered strategic. On February 14 the department issued a list of licenses it had granted. Conspicuous on the list was the permission granted to ship $177,001 worth of copper scrappage to Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia is a Communist country. No one can dispute that the uses to which copper is put have broad military significance. Yet, in this connection, this export license to this Communist country is little different than many licenses granted for many other strategic materials bound for many other Communist nations. The remarkable thing about this export license is that it was issued in the middle of a critical copper shortage brought on by a prolonged and bitter labor dispute. The dimensions of the shortage are best reflected in the fact that the national strategic copper stockpile is down to 287,000 tons. The national objective is 775,000 tons in the stockpile. How important is copper scrap? Under present circumstances, 34 per cent of all of the copper that is being used in this country comes from salvaged copper scrap. The Department of Commerce owes the American people some explanation.

'Justified' Riots

By REP. WATKINS ABBITT (D.-Va.)

Many people seem to have lost all sense of proportion in the aftermath of last summer's disorders. Those who rioted and caused damage running into millions of dollars should not be classed as heroes. When the shambles of our cities are viewed, those who caused the damage should not be held up as serving a noble cause. And yet, this is precisely the impression being created by the kind of logic which comes from the President's commission. These acts are somehow rendered as "justified" in light of the conditions which exist. But disorder, rioting, pillage and arson are never justified.

The acts of violence which were brought to Detroit, Newark, Cleveland, Cambridge, and elsewhere were largely against private property—not government. These people suffered losses which in many cases were not covered by insurance. Now, because of the riots and threats of more, the insurance companies understandably have fear of insuring against future losses. What kind of logic would have the government turn its back upon taxpaying business people who suffer losses and refuse to give protection against rioters and yet look with sympathy upon those who riot?

Obsolete Ships

By REP. CRAIG HOSMER (R.-Calif.)

The major advantage of any nuclear-powered ship is that it can go almost anywhere it wants, at any time, without worrying about its fuel supply. For this reason, I am strongly opposed to the Administration's plan for a major naval shipbuilding program that includes five dozen *conventional oil-burning ships but only* five *first-class nuclear-powered ships. I seriously feel that the five dozen conventional ships will be obsolete before they are launched.*

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

The **Omnibus Civil Rights Bill of 1968** (HR 2516), passed last week by the Senate and now before the House, contains five main sections. Here is a summary of each section:

• Civil Rights protection. The bill would forbid any form of interference, or attempted interference, with an individual's right to vote, take part in federal or federally aided programs, obtain a federal job or serve as a juror in federal court. It forbids racially motivated interference with an individual's rights to schooling, or to take advantage of the benefits of state or local government programs, private or state employment, union membership, travel and use of public accommodations. The bill exempts from these provisions policemen lawfully executing their duties, or police, national guardsmen and soldiers involved in putting down a civil disturbance.

• Riot control. Any individual who performs or attempts to perform overt acts designed to incite, organize or participate in a riot will be subject to $10,000 fine and five years in prison; included in this stipulation is interstate travel or use of interstate commerce (e.g., telephone, mail, television) with intent to incite or take part in a riot. ("Riot" is herein defined as an act of violence by at least one member of any group of three or more.)

• Civil obedience. Individuals interfering with police, troops or firemen attempting to suppress a civil disturbance will be subject to fine and imprisonment; also, persons carrying, using or making firearms or incendiaries for riot use will be fined $10,000 and put in jail for five years.

• Open Housing. Legislation will be enforced on a three-step basis: 1) Immediately upon enactment, dwellings owned or operated by the federal government, or built with federal financial aid received since November 1962 (with the exception of owner-occupied VA- or FHA-financed homes), will be subject to the law; 2) on Jan. 1, 1969, all multi-unit housing and real estate developments will be subject; 3) on Jan. 1, 1970, all other housing, public and private, will be covered, with specific exemptions.

Exemptions from open housing provision include: 1) a single-family, owner-occupied home is exempt if the owner handles the sale or rental himself (i.e., does not use a real estate broker) and does not advertise in a discriminatory manner; 2) an owner-occupied dwelling of no more than four families is exempt as long as the owner occupies a portion for himself; 3) an owner of up to three single-family homes, although not an occupant himself, could sell one of them within any two-year period without being subject to anti-discrimination charges as long as he did not use a broker or discriminatory advertising; 4) religious organizations and private clubs are exempt if housing owned by them is used exclusively for their own non-commercial purposes.

Enforcement of the open housing provisions may be carried out by private individuals in civil suits entered in U.S. district courts, or by the U.S. attorney general whenever he sees a "pattern of practice" of resistance to the law; the attorney general may not take action in isolated, individual cases.

• American Indian Rights. Confirms coverage by the Bill of Rights and other constitutional guarantees to individual American Indians. Orders the secretary of the interior to codify a model judicial code for courts on Indian reservations. Allows states, with the consent of resident Indian tribes, to assume criminal and civil jurisdiction over legal cases involving Indians.

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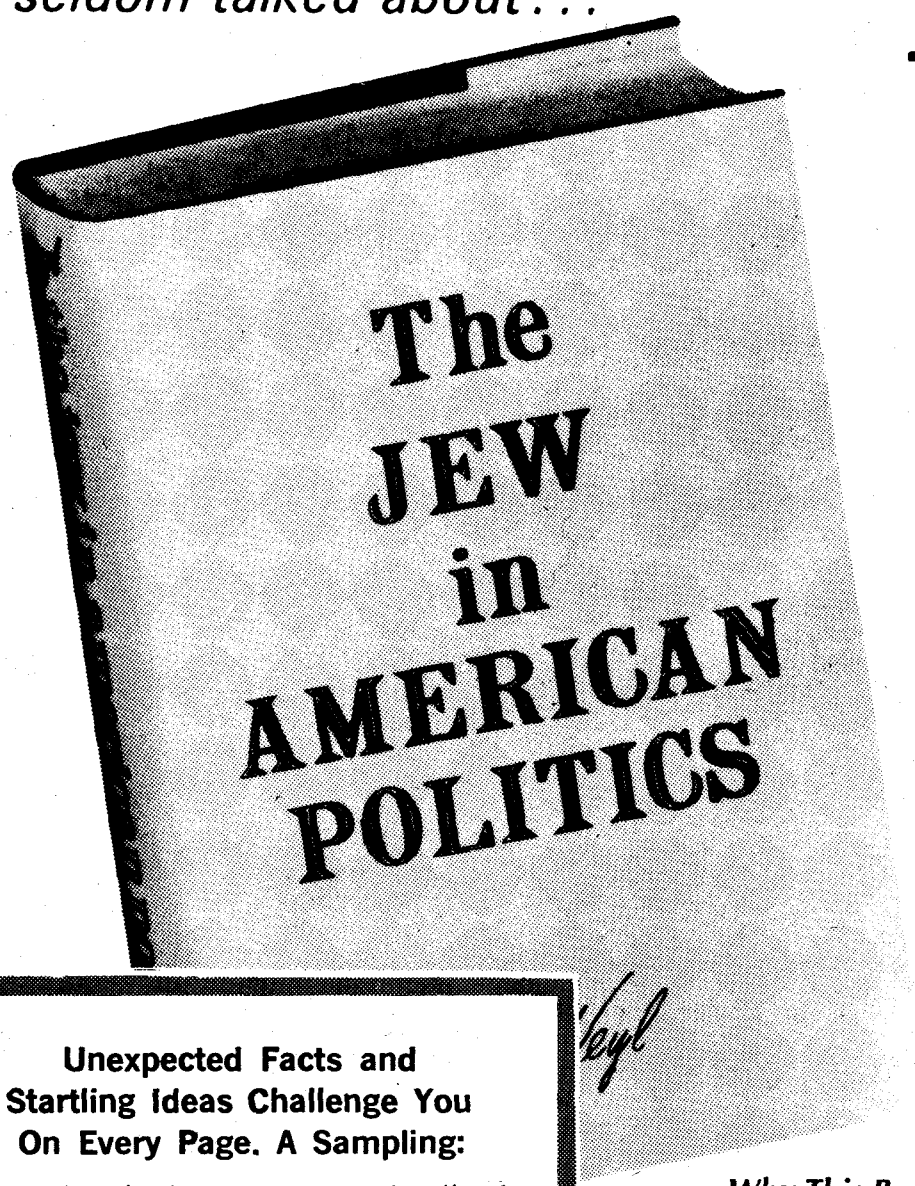

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